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To be Russian is dangerous!

I read in your Letters section (No. 20/92) a note from Moldova about the situation with Russians who live there. In brief, we are afraid even to speak our native language on the trolley. All Moldovans have been declared Romanians, although Romania was created only in the last century – unlike Moldova. To the question what was the nationality of Stefan cel Mare (Stephen the Great) they answer Romanian. Although he was of the Vlach nationality and had a Polish name. Next thing you know they will say Spartacus was a Romanian, since he was born on that territory...

V.Kovalev, pensioner
Moldova

Don't pay any heed to rumours

I have been reading your magazine for over 10 years now, so I have the right to voice my opinion.

In the material about Moldova you give false information, trying to retain the power of Russians in their former colonies. Could it really be that your "specialists" on Moldova don't know that 75 percent of Russians living on the territory of Bessarabia – live quietly, and harmoniously with their neighbours.

Where do your authors get the information that Romanian soldiers are fighting on the side of Moldova? It seems this disinformation was specially inspired in order to attract hired killers for the war on the side of the new "republic." How is it possible, in general, to talk about some kind of new republic on Moldovan land, if our legal president was elected by the entire population? Is it really possible for a person, who only two years ago arrived in Modova, not knowing our language or ways to announce himself president of some kind of Moldovan Dniester republic? And furthermore to demand, that everyone recognize him! Friends, all this is absurd. Your paths cross with Lukyanov, who also appears to be the "god father" of this "republic." The "republic" also enjoys the support of Rutskoi, but especially of Mr Zhirinovsky. And you have fallen into just such company!

The Dniester republic has arisen for two basic reasons. The first – our people are too kind-hearted and obedient. Russians living amongst us had indisputable privileges, and our native language was fully supplanted. And now the nomenklatura doesn't want to lose its power, its preferential position. Second reason – the blest environmental conditions where everything grows and there are people to cultivate our soil.

I have an important request of you – do not interfere in our affairs and if you want to defend your own citizens, do this through governmental chanels, in the civilized way. Don't write articles based on rumours.

Grigory Sandu, director of a pig raising complex
Moldova

Solid evidence

I would like to draw your attention to a document prepared by a delegation of the International League for Human Rights which not long ago visited Moldova and the Dniester republic. On the basis of documental proof of Bucarest's military interference in the conflict between Kishenev and the Dniester republic, including many photomaterials owned by this organization, a detailed report was presented to the US State Department and Congress as well as to members of the coming Helsinki CSCE. I personally have in my possession material of this authoritative organization which inspires much more trust than the refuting claims made by the Kishinev authorities.

Victor Martynov, journalist
Moscow

THE WAY I SEE IT

Drawing by S.Fedko

Look at a third alternative!

The recent riots in Los Angeles have revealed the failure of American capitalism to solve the problems of poverty and racism. This has implications for Russia. Because many Russian intellectuals, seeing the obvious bankruptcy of bureaucratic pseudo-socialism in their own country, looked to the West for an alternative model.

But if capitalism has not abolished poverty in its American heartland, is there any reason to believe that it will do so in Russia? I doubt it. Capitalism will probably result in the closure of a large part of Russian industry, causing massive unemployment and widespread poverty.

I do not believe that humankind is limited to a choice between capitalism and Stalinism. Both of these systems are oppressive, and neither of them can bring prosperity to all their citizens.

I believe it is necessary to look at a third alternative – democratic socialism.

Christopher Slee
Australia

My hero – Schwarzenegger

What I'm writing you may seem like the ravings of some kind of fanatic, but this is an attempt to express my feelings to my hero – Schwarzenegger.

This is a living legend, a self-made man. He combines all the best qualities: strength, beauty, and outstanding charm. He is the personification of freedom and self-confidence! Schwarzenegger changed the lives of a thousand people, especially teenagers. Thanks to him we decided to achieve something in life, and to rid ourselves of bad habits. I would give a lot to see Arnold, to shake his hand... He is a special person, and let him know that there are people who idolize him. It would be crazy if I received an answer from him, after all isn't your journal also published in English?

Alexander Bork, 17 years old
Kyrghyzstan

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Boris Yeltsin looks abroad for army action to so avert misbehavior back home

Eighteen months after the dramatic UN Security Council vote, Boris Yeltsin at last ordered a freeze on relations with Yugoslavia, that alliance of Serbians and Montenegrans which seeks to bar independence to the former Yugoslav republics. The piddling demonstrations of nationalists and communists, who invoked Slavic brotherhood, were totally abortive. Boris Yeltsin shed no tears for Belgrade similarly as Gorbachev did not in his time for Baghdad. Worn out on the eve of their summer recess Russian MPs unexpectedly agreed with their President and approved sending to Yugoslavia one more Russian infantry battalion to bring peace there under the UN aegis.

This occurred after another Russian peace-keeping force had been sent to the area of the Georgian-Ossetian conflict, in a territory now independent of Moscow. It is part of a specific multinational formation summoned to bring law and order to South Ossetia and help politicians settle its problems by talks not by force. Although Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze who, failing to resolve the conflict by his own efforts, evidently felt for a moment kin with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic if not Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein qualified this multinational force as a temporary UN-type palliative, locals, according to the Russian media, welcomed the Russian force with flowers and happy dears. Indeed, the desires of the Georgian Ossetians to have Russian soldiers protect them may be compared only, perhaps, to the wish of the Baltic peoples to see these soldiers go and never return. *C'est la vie,* as the French say: in the Transcaucasus Russian soldiers are attacked as they evacuate, in the Baltics they're attacked simply because they stay put!

As far as one sees the Kremlin is basing its policies on this change in moods when, in defiance of press ridicule, it engaged in peace-keeping missions outside the boundaries of trouble-rent Russia. The notion of a "small victorious war," which, early in this 20th century tsarist ministers, scared by the prospect of revolution, had proposed to Nicholas II, has oddly transformed in the present time of the maniacal peace movement. No wonder in the explanatory material prepared for parliamentary discussion of the sending of a Russian contingent to Yugoslavia, President Yeltsin impressed upon MPs that the related request made by UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali indicated the "new Russia's" high international prestige.

Truth to tell, Russians would have never been let into Yugoslavia under the Soviet flag, since that would have been viewed as the continuation of Stalin's designs for welding together the "socialist camp." Boris Yeltsin is now exploiting the vein that Mikhail Gorbachev tapped. By boosting his international prestige, he seeks on the one hand to compensate for his declining rating at home, and on the other, to point out to possible rivals that they are second rate provincials. Incidentally, this is acutely raising the problem of personnel within the political dimensions of the former USSR. Mikhail Gorbachev was supported in his time by a rather powerful political lobby adequately civilized for contacts with the West, who incidentally, donned his mantle in the erstwhile Soviet republics, thus apparently making full use of the communist *nomenclatura*'s last generation.

Intentions of dispatching Russian troops to various cockpits of tension most likely derive from one more of Boris Yeltsin's plans. Thereby commanding generals, depressed by inactivity and a sense of own non-entity are getting a prestigious though none-too-easy task which thus holds out prospects for social rehabilitation and for career options – military and politically – that are of significance as regards personal plans. Take for insteance, Maj.Gen.Alexander Lebed, the commanding officer of the Moldova-based 14th army. When he aired intentions of protecting Russians and their greatness from "Moldovan fascists," that already imparted potential as a politcal figure. Consequently, any happier peacemaker, able to dodge a one-sided dedication to one or another political camp inside Russia – which General Lebed seems to have failed to do – may capture still greater laurels.

Thus the pivot of the new Russia's policies at home and abroad has paradoxically enough shifted to the military field via declarations stressing peaceableness. The Kremlin seeks thereby to implement its foreign policy designs and is thus breeding future policy makers.

Vladimir Kulistikov

Great Russia – a myth or a reality?

Russia was, is and will be a great power. This assertion has recently become a constant tenor of public speeches by Russian leaders. It's the leitmotif of pronouncements by both the Russian President and the chief of the Russian foreign policy Andrei Kozyrev.

This insistance on Russia's greatness is conducive to many thoughts, and in the first place, to the question which seems somewhat abstract at first glance: what is a great power in the contemporary world?

Historically the notion of a state's "greatness" has always been connected with its military might. Correspondingly, the composition of the "concert of great powers" has constantly varied depending on the outcome of each war on the European theatre, since this was precisely the place where "the destinies of the global peace" were decided. Even the United States joined this "concert" only after it had sent its troops to Europe to participate in WWI. And only as a result of WWII was the notion of "great power" institutionalized and the composition of the "great powers' club" confirmed by an international act, the UN Charter.

The criterion was seemingly the same – the seats of the permanent members of the Security Council were granted not merely to the victors in the war, but to the strongest among them in terms of military might. Later another powerful foundation reinforced this position. Following the USA, the other four "great powers," the USSR, Great Britain, France and China became nuclear states, while the nukes non-proliferation treaty barred others from joining the club.

Another criterion, however, was from the very outset connected with that of military might: the global interests of the great power on the international arena, military might being called upon to promote them. Suffice it to remember how Portugal and Spain first gained and then lost the status of great powers in the epoch of colonialization. Nor could the United States, which as early as in the 19th century became an economically and militarily powerful state, aspire to such status till they abandoned the isolationism of their foreign policy based on the regionalism of the Monroe Doctrine and laid claims to leadership in deciding the destinies of the planet.

To my mind, the criterion based on global interests has now become decisive. The significance of nuclear status as the dominant element of military might has diminished. On the one hand, in spite of the nuclear arms non-proliferation treaty, a great many other states have gained access to nukes, and their number will, in all likelihood, grow still. At that, no one, I think, would dare regard Israel as a great power. On the other hand, the threat of using nukes by countries which possess large arsenals of these weapons is reduced to nil thanks, firstly, to the amount of these arms suffi-

cient to destroy life on this planet many times over and, secondly, to favourable processes in the evolution of the international situation in the recent years, which rule out the use of nuclear strength.

On the contrary, globalism of interests not only remains a distinctive feature of great powers, it has also acquired new dimensions. A flat, superficial vision of world issues has given way to a three-dimentional, "stereoscopic" one. The desire to influence the course of political processes in any region of the planet has been supplemented by the awareness of one's involvement in the solution of global problems – environmental concern, famine, epidemics, in short, in everything connected with survival of humankind. Of course, all the peoples and states are interested in this, but only great powers are able to rise above current or national interests and make these concerns really universal.

At the same time, politicians and political scientists suggest new, expanded criteria for the "greatness" of powers more and more often. For instance, the numerical strength of a population. Here the most likely condidates for the "great-power club" is, naturally, India, but also Indonesia, Nigeria, Brazil... Then comes the level of economic development, and, naturally, Germany and Japan are mentioned. Correspondingly, all of them are named as candidates for permanent membership in the UN Security Council whose number is thus expected to enlarge.

Perhaps, the incorporation of all these and, possibily, some other countries in the Security Council as permanent members will be beneficial to it, as well as to the world community as a whole. But it will hardly become the decisive factor in actual recognition of their status, as opposed to formal recognition, as great powers. Why? Simply because their interest in the solution of global problems has been so far below that of the "fivesome" of the permanent SC members.

We are all accustomed to the expression "Great India." Indeed, its population quickly approaching the level of one thousand million people, the impressive economic advance it has made in recent decades, the considerable scientific and military potential it has achieved, and its tremendous role in the development of world culture – all this prompts India to assume this role. But isn't it as yet too absorbed in the problems of South Asia in order to feel herself a "world-class" player on the global arena?

The potential of Germany and Japan is no doubt great. Yet they haven't yet overcome the trauma caused by the crash of their ambitions in WWII. Having staked their all on economic revival and development, they intentionally (and legally) limit their international activities, holding fast to their image of anti-militarist countries. At present they are making their first attempts to reassess their position in the world, being forced to reckon with both international and their own domestic public opinion.

What Russia are we talking about?

How does the new Russia look against this background? As follows from statements by Russia's leaders, three arguments are used to back the thesis of her having retained the status of a great power. First, this is possession of one of the world's two greatest nuclear arsenals. Secondly, the recognition, by the World Community, of the Russian Federation as the legal successor to the former Soviet Union. Thirdly, her having declared herself the legal successor to the "millennium-old" and, naturally, great Russia.

I would like to begin with the last thesis. Assertions of this kind don't fail to embarrass me. What Russia are we talking about? If we mention a millennial Russia, we mean what was born as the Kievan Rus, Moscow being a remote province thereof. It's common knowledge that it ceased to exist as a result of the Tatar-Mongol invasion.

If we mean the Russian Empire as it existed in the 17th–19th centuries and which was really great, then what has it to do with the territory artificially mapped out by the Bolsheviks, which was the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic? Certainly, the latter has something to do with the former, but only as a part to the whole. And since we emphasize the fact that the new Russia has for all eternity done away with the legacy of the former Soviet Union, which almost literally reproduced the structure and the composition of the Russian Empire, there are no reasons for us to trace our origin back to the Soviet empire? And since the new Russia has recognized the independence of Ukraine, all references to the former's millennium-old history are fraught, *inter alia*, with disputes over legacy and legal succession which will hardly promote good neighbourly relations.

So what is it, the new Russia? It's doubtless the successor to the historical Russia, yet reduced nearly to the confines of Russia as Muscovy of the mid 17th century. Ukraine has not yet joined it. Byelorussia has not yet been conquered by it, but Siberia and the Far Eastern Region have already become part of it. The European part of our territory has been considerably reduced, our western border (not to count the Kaliningrad Region) has been pushed many hundred kilometers eastward. This doesn't seriously affect our European identity, for the CSCE recognized as European even the Central Asian republics of the former USSR. Besides, we have retained three naval "gates to Europe": St. Petersburg, Kaliningrad and Novorossiisk.

What more? We are still the world's territorially largest country, although, as to population, we have shifted from the third to the sixth or seventh place in the world, contributed to by the zero or negative birth rate in most regions of the country. Our economy still lies in ruins. Today possession of a tremendous nuclear arsenal is sufficient to be feared of but not to be esteemed. The country's recognition as the legal successor to the Soviet Union is subject to doubts inside the country itself because of the denial by some of its regions of their succession to this very Union, as well as outside the country: Ukraine has already declared that this recognition, in her opinion, may refer only to a permanent seat on the Security Council, and to nothing else.

So, nothing more than the right of veto in the Security Council? Although it's pleasing to be coaxed by representatives of leading Western countries before every important voting, isn't this too little to be "great?"

Russia yesterday and today. What will tomorrow bring?

Nevertheless there are serious grounds to believe that the new Russia has real chances to become a truly great power, and the global character of Russia's interests is the basis for these hopes. Of course, there can be no longer a question of territorial expansion, or of a "break through to warm seas," or of a world revolution and imposing "our" regime on foreign countries. Yet there is another kind of succession – a global involvement in world affairs. Precisely this allowed the United States, forced to reject the role of an anti-communist messiah after the defeat in Vietnam, and France and the Great Britain who had lost their colonial empires, to retain their status as great powers.

To stop, recover one's breath, look around...

Not everything is OK as far as the new Russia's involvement in world affairs and her diplomacy are concerned. There is quite enough declarations, but the impression is that there is a lack of orderliness and precision in strategic objectives to test every concrete political action. Their absence, at least as seen by a detached onlooker, is disguised by feverish, sometimes even confused foreign political activity. But the geographic range of even this type of activity is very limited. One sphere is, naturally, the "immediate abroad," the other, the advanced industrial countries, plus sporadic "expeditions" to the Middle East, Afghanistan and Turkey.

Let's have a look at the time-table of the President's foreign (outside the CIS) visits and the list of state and government leaders he has received in Moscow. The same advanced industrial countries, no contacts with Asia, Africa or Latin America. The exception, i.e. Japan, Turkey, South Africa and South Korea, as usual, only confirm the rule. And how quickly concern over the environment has subsided and become almost undiscernible among the concerns of Russia's foreign policy along with the Third World's underdevelopment and other global issues which in recent years have won us the esteem of the world community.

Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev deserves sympathy and appreciation; his personal courage (let us remember his far from safe visits to Kabul and Sarajevo); his ability to diplomatically comment on negotiations, is to be admired. But does his frenzic running around near-by and remote capitals leave him enough time to think, to make a detailed and profound analysis of Russia's position in the world. Is he able, together with his competent advisors, to first of all determine Russia's long-term primary interests and to outline a strategy for their implementations?

No time for it? But let us remember the Bush-Baker Administration coming to power in the United States. The situation in the relations with, primarily, the Soviet Union seemed to call for urgent decisions. The extremely important agreement on strategic offensive weapons hung in mid-air, but Bush and Baker took a time-out all of a sudden, in order to thoroughly investigate the entire set of international problems. The Soviet Union urged them, American and other columnists and cartoonists mocked them, supplementing information about any foreign political event of importance with the invariable question "Where is Bush?", yet the pause of precisely the right duration – half a year – was sustained. A strategy was formulated, and American diplomacy perplexed American political allies. A clear political line strictly adhered to by the USA during the last three years was seen in the stream of initiatives and in Baker's running around the world's capitals. And the USA can afford this, even in spite of the "precipitous" changes in Central Europe and the former USSR.

One could object that there are examples of big strategic successes in foreign policy achieved as a result of a spontaneous desperate gambit, won precisely due to quickness of action. Such seems the famous move by Helmut Kohl after the fall of the Berlin Wall, his ten provisions on the reunion of Germany. However, the success had been prepared by almost two decades of "eastern policy," consistant and persistent. The long-term interest had been determined in advance and never waived, as Germany didn't waive her strategic interests in the recognition of the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, despite, at first, the strongest, pressure by her partners in the European Community.

I am ready to admit that Russia's "immediate abroad" leaves her no time for either contemplation or a time-out. Nevertheless, such fundamental principles of a great power's foreign policy as an exact formulation and strict observance of a strategic course and long-term interests, dignity, pragmatism, the understanding of one's partner's motives and sensible foresight of consequences are required here no less than elsewhere.

At the same time, the foreign policy with regard to former republics of the former USSR can't be given the same status as diplomatic relations with countries traditionally foreign to us. This policy, for all the obligatory and absolute esteem for the independence of these new states, will never be completely "foreign." It's not for nothing that special departments "for the affairs of the Commonwealth" were created in France and Great Britain after the declaration of independence by their former colonies. Having relieved itself of matters extraneous to it and having regained its breath, our Foreign Ministry could tackle traditional foreign political matters, i.e., consolidation of relations with the traditionally foreign countries, whereas the relations with the "immediate abroad" could be entrusted to, for instance, a newly created department.

Yugoslavia: wars don't know mercy

...and not to close the doors to the outer world...

Then the time would be found for the pauses and contemplations we so need. It would be found also that our foreign policy is not to be appreciated according to the number of condescending and even friendly pats on the shoulder, each time Russia votes in international organizations as it would never voted before. We would have time to check, in which cases our "special" position was dictated by the outlived ideology or the desire of military supremacy and in which cases it was determined by the real difference of our interests, especially long-term ones, from those of, say, the United States. And the moves of our diplomacy in the course of the conflict between the world community and the Iraq of Saddam Hussein would be approved *post factum*, and questions would be asked concerning the correctness of our support of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

What made us, in this latter case, forget about Russia's long-standing interests? Sanctions, as was more than once proved by history, will hardly make Serbia surrender and her people applaud the ideological arguments used to back the accusations of aggression. They will rather, as has always been the case, consolidate the people, and will instill bitterness towards Russians and Russia – for the first time in this century. In fact, no one expected anything more than a mere abstention, as China did.

Thus, forgetting Russian historical traditions, we can lose old friends without winning new ones, only to once again seek a new "gate to the world" afterwards.

The same applies to the principle of global interests. This principle does not at all mean the desire to "penetrate" into any region or any country. It means to secure one's "presence." All great powers always spared no efforts for the sake of this. One feels rather uncomfortable to see the list of closed embassies of the former USSR which were once opened with so much pain. Do the leaders of Russian diplomacy really believe that it's possible to occupy a respectable position in the world, focusing all one's attention, strength and means on the development of relations exclusively with a group of advanced industrial countries?

I am convinced that all this happens due to haste, to the impossibility to think it over. The new Russia which no longer pursues large-scale objectives in most countries of the Third World could probably afford having mini-embassies there, made up of two or three diplomats without other, usually rather numerous, personnel. They might be preserved in Papua-New Guinea, in Togo and in other countries and even opened in those where there had been none. A political effect of this presence, testifying to our global interests and to the absence of neglect of any country, would have been greater than that of declarations concerning our "greatness."

Nor can we ignore the effect of economic cooperation with "these little ones," because there are better chances for mutually advantageous trade and economic relations with developing countries, in whose family we have so "unexpectedly" found ourselves, than with advanced countries. And some of the former, such as India, are willing to help and do help us. May the time come when our newspapers' pages devoted to advertisements and business news are full of information from our diplomats offering our young businesspeople new, so far unknown to them and quite concrete fields where they can apply their energy?

To conclude, I will dare repeat once again – actual and not merely declared global interests; a carefull, yet devoid of sluggishness, formulation of long-term objectives of foreign policy; consistancy and dignity in their implementation; taking into account historical traditions (and not following them blindly); a sensible preconsideration of every definite step and an equally sensible vision of motives guiding other actors on the international scene – all this is both indispensible and sufficient for the new Russia to be able to make use of her real chance to occupy a place worthy of a great power. At the same time, a neglect of the above-mentioned principles on the part of those responsible for Russia's foreign policy is fraught with the danger of the latter being challenged by populist claims which could unite extremists from both the right and the left.

Vsevolod Rybakov,
political scientist

Russian ambassador eagerly awaited in Riga

Alexander Rannikh, Russian Ambassador to Latvia, presented his credentials in Riga and returned to Moscow. The Russian embassy has no building nor staff. There is only an ambassador

Clean-cut, looking like a weightlifter, Alexander Rannikh comes to the Foreign Ministry every day. He is unofficially recruiting assistants and waiting for the government decision on how many diplomats will represent Russia in Latvia and how they will be paid.

Because the Foreign Ministry treasury is empty the embassy in Riga ranks among the small ones and can be compared with the Russian mission in Iceland, even though the consulate office in Riga will be swamped with work. Alexander Rannikh believes that tens of thousands of Russians want to acquire Russian citizenship, though most likely they will remain living in Latvia.

Alexander Rannikh came across financial difficulties when he presented his credentials. In independent Latvia foreign diplomats have to pay in hard currency only. The Latvian foreign ministry made an arrangement every time allowing the Russian ambassador to rent a car and a suite in a hotel for rubles.

However, for rubles the embassy is unable to buy furniture, hire local employees or fill vacancies with Moscow diplomats who will prefer another place of service to Riga.

All countries which had embassies in Riga before the summer of 1940 received their buildings back. The four-storey house with an outbuilding, formerly owned by Russia, is now occupied by Latvia's Ministry of Culture, and Minister Raimonds Pauls restored it a while ago. The Russian admirers of the composer are somewhat embarrassed. It is somehow not very convenient to drive the maestro out, though the retrieval of the building is a matter of national prestige.

The arrival of the Russian ambassador was an important event for Latvia. Alexander Rannikh was even somewhat confused by the attention of the authorities, the press and the public. It will be difficult for him to justify all their expectations.

Alexander Rannikh is most eagerly awaited by the motley Russian community which includes those who settled down in Latvia two or three years ago, former Communists who fought against the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and recent advocates of the Popular Front.

Russians in Latvia count very much on Alexander Rannikh, Ambassador of Russia

"My task is to convince Moscow and Riga to conclude a number of agreements regulating the social aspects of the life of people," Alexander Rannikh says. "The Russians living in Latvia must receive normal pensions and have the possibility to complete education in their mother tongue. I will certainly draw the Latvian government's attention to all violations of human rights."

But Ambassador Rannikh is sure that the discussion of high-tension problems can be directed into a normal channel and that gradually agreement can be reached on all issues. He will face the main difficulties not in Riga but in Moscow, where some people are reluctant to build relations with the former Union republic anew and cannot get accustomed to the fact that it is now the Foreign Ministry's area of activity.

No room for Caucasians in Stavropol Territory

Pogroms are not yet organized in the south of Russia. Today there aliens are only deportees

Moscow taxi-drivers went on strike last winter, calling for the deportation of all Azerbaijanians from the capital. The action was held after one of their colleagues was killed, supposedly by an Azerbaijanian. In April, the Volgograd authorities began to evict Chechens. True, the eviction was stopped later, but tension has not been removed. In towns and villages of the Kuban and Stavropol Territory, where people of various nationalities have lived since the time immemorial, Cossack demostrations are taking place. Often with the support of local Russians, they adopt decisions on the eviction of either Armenians or Meskhetian Turks, or simply "all non-Slav immigrants who came here after January 1, 1985." Such a verdict, in March of this year, was passed by a mass Cossack gathering in the Krymsky District of the Krasnodar Territory. Can it really be true – refugees from Russia?

Fates are decided at rallies

"In pursuance of the decision adopted by citizens of the Lysogorskaya village at their gathering on June 8, 1992 – namely, on the eviction of Armenians who settled here after 1985, we demand that citizens G.A.Mikhailian, M.L.Mikhailian and L.G.Mikhailian leave the territory of the village and the Stavropol Territory within 72 (seventy-two) hours. Otherwise, they will be evicted by force with their house taken on commission and then sold. A rally of citizens of the Lysogorskaya village." The paper bore no stamp nor signature.

In the Lysogorskaya village of the Stavropol Territory such and similar notices had been received by about 100 Armenian families. The Mikhailian family lived there since January 1990, when, beaten and frightened to death, they came to the village fleeing from the Baku pogrom. They settled down in Lysogorskaya because a relative helped them to buy a house there. The family ran into debts which it has not paid yet. The man and wife are pensioners and their son works at a cooperative in Georgiyevsk. They have the status of refugees granted them yet under the Union law. But they did not have domicile registration because they had been denied it since 1990. However, the local authorities did not agree to issue a written refusal. For this reason the Mikhailians were unable to appeal against the decision of the rally. But the family, which already fled from one pogrom, understood that they had to leave the village.

Armenian families began to settle here 30 to 35 years ago. These were mainly "Russian" Armenians who had been attracted by beneficial local conditions (a health resort zone). In 1988 a stream of refugees flowed to the Stavropol Territory from Transcaucasia. Some came from Armenia after an earthquake there, others from Karabakh because of the war in that autonomous republic, and still others from Baku and Gyandji, in the wake of pogroms in those cities. Today Armenians make up about 20 percent of the population of the Lysogorskaya village.

As almost everywhere, a stormy anti-Armenian explosion began in the village after a crime. Two young Armenians raped two village girls. Local Armenians called down imprecations on the criminals who gave themselves up to the police. The father of one of them said he was prepared to shoot his own son because, "such a son he didn't need." But nothing helped. A mass gathering, attended also by many people from neighbouring villages, unanimously decided: there is no room for these degenerates (Armenians, not only criminals) on our land. The chairman of the local council, a brave and beautiful woman, ventured to talk about human rights, saying that collective responsibility was impermissible. But the crowd bellowed: "Take a train together with them and go away to your Armenians."

Some people from the crowd went to check who of the Armenians had domicile registration and who did not. They burst into the homes of Armenians, brandishing firearms before the faces of house owners. A couple of families were robbed. True, particular zeal in this respect was displayed by people from other villages. Two days later, when passions had abated a little, the council of Cossack chiefs, with the countenance of the local administration head (whose first deputy is also a Cossack chief) decided to evict Armenians in stages: at first, those who did not have domicile registration, then those who did not work, and, lastly, depending on how the process would go.

Opinions differed on the question of "parasites." Who should be regarded as working people – only those who work on the collective farm (there are few Armenians on the farm) or, those who work elsewhere? Villagers are more inclined to accept the first view because, as is known, "only parasites and no-good-money-bags" are engaged in commercial operations. At present, notices are being distributed. The first group of Armenians has to leave the Lysogorskaya village by the middle of July. Activists visit Armenian families to remind them that they must vacate by that date.

If the entire village knows that you have to go in a couple of weeks no one will give a decent price for the house. Cossacks and local authorities advise Armenians to speed up exchanges with Russians who live in Armenia. But these Russians may not be registered in the village either. Nikolai Bezuglov, a Cossack chief, replies confidently: "Well, Russians will be registered."

"Their own land"

Armenians say they did not feel hostility before the rape case. "Let the criminals be punished, they may even be hanged, but we bear no responsibility." Russian villagers say that if it was not the rape case another case would happen soon. There are too many Armenians in the village. It is overpopulated. Irritation accumulated, and it has erupted. If Armenians do not leave they'll be routed. If they resist "not a single beast will remain alive even if we lose 100 or 200 men." No one can explain specifically in what way Armenians irritate the other villagers: "They lead a parasitical way of life," that is, they do what is usually considered speculation, though in Moscow it is called "business." They are rich and think they can do whatever they like; Armenians are free and easy and the men make lewd sexual advances to girls. A tall, dim-eyed Cossack, quite drunk, explained: "Until we frightened them it was impossible to pass by here. They gathered in small groups, talking their language and using foul words." It was difficult to imagine that the Cossack himself blushed with shame and hurried to slip past.

Many of those with whom I talked soon turned the conversation from Armenians to Caucasians in general. "In Georgiyevsk, for instance, an Azerbaijanian killed a girl. It is not Russians who commit most of the crimes. It is not we who first began to expel others from their homes. People flee from Grozny (Chechen), barely clad. We have

A mass Cossack gathering. Did Cossacks discuss the eviction of Caucasians, did they share experiences?

ploughed the land for many years whereas they merely speculate. So they have grown accustomed to the thought that we should be slaves."

At first, it all seems absurd. How could it happen that all of a sudden the entire village went mad and rose up against the Armenians because some of them use dirty language and have a lot of money? Dozens of villages have started anti-Armenian campaigns. But when the word "land" was pronounced everything became clear. The villagers are expecting land privatization. That is the essential issue at hand.

The link can be traced to pre-historic times: blood – soil, land – family. It would be disastrous to give one's land to someone else. National self-consciousness begins and is shaped round the image of "our own land." That is why people regard as a catastrophe the possibility of land on which their family has lived for ages being bought up by alien people. This explains why in the civilized Baltic republics politically insane laws on citizenship are adopted so that part of the land can't be bought by "non-indigenes." The intellectual President Nazarbayev is dragging his feet over the privatization of land. He understands it will be a heavy blow to Kazakh national consciousness if the land becomes concentrated mainly in the hands of Russians. In the villages of the Krasnodar and Stavropol Territory non-indigenes are simply evicted.

This complex will eventually be overcome in the same way it has been abolished in industrialized countries, where the land has lost its symbolic and mystic role and becomes solely a commodity. However, privatization of land in Russia has to be carried out precisely now, at the present stage of development, with Russia being a multinational state.

Local authorities are against settling refugees in their territories. But where to settle them then? Perhaps a large concentration of non-Russian migrants should not be allowed in one particular place, especially in a rural area inhabited by Russians.

It is, of course, necessary to forecast conflicts, the more so that they are quite predictable, and to prevent unlawful actions.

A challenge to the way of life

In industrialized states decent people do not usually talk about national distinctions. It is not a custom there. On the whole, this is probably more reasonable than constantly gossiping about national peculiarities, which has become habitual in our country. People inevitably begin to talk banalities, simplify things and draw groundless conclusions. But without noting the distinctions it is difficult to explain the origin of xenophobia. The traditionally different attitude to wealth and rich people has certainly played a major part in the outburst of anti-Caucasian sentiments now evident in Russia. The idea of equalizing is stronger in Russia than in the Caucasus. Moreover, it is very important for Russians to know how a man has accumulated his wealth – by work or some other means? These Russians have Armenian, Chechen and Azerbaijanian neighbours, for whom it is prestigious to be rich without importance being placed on how the wealth has been acquired, for whom lavish expenditure of money befits a real man. While commerce is by no means a disreputable occupation, Russians feel a challenge to their value system. Hence such labels as "parasites" and "idlers."

The air has lately been full of talk about the enhanced criminality among the strata of "persons of Caucasian nationality." This talk is often tactless, tendentious and improper. It is obvious, however, that the percentage of crimes committed by Caucasians is higher than their proportion in the population of Russia. In this respect they are said to play the same part which has been attributed in the West to Arabs, Turks, Puerto Ricans and, in recent years, often to Russians. There is no mysticism here. The migrants are more energetic, adventuristic and criminal than the indigenous population. A striking example is provided by Vietnamese who are law-abiding and timid at home.

In Russia, xenophobia can rather easily lead to the idea of deportation. It is incredibly difficult to counterpose this tendency under conditions of the continuing break-up of law-enforcement bodies. We evidently have to accept the fact that there is no simple way of regulating national policy and, in particular, averting unlawful actions against "Caucasian" citizens and inhabitants of Russia.

The closing of borders is unlikely to help much in this sense. It will be impossible to keep a tough visa regime, of the American type, because due to the years of joint life people have got relatives and friends in different republics and, besides, criminals are known to overcome barriers quite easily.

Real, not formal, agreements on security guarantees for national minorities between Russia and Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Chechen and other republics, including republics within the Russian Federation, could probably be the most effective means in this respect. It would then be possible to break the vicious circle in which refugees give rise to new refugees. The trouble is that the leaders who sign similar agreements are not always able to observe them. Besides, for most Russians "Caucasians" are not differentiated by nationality. The presence of Russian refugees from the Chechen Republic may seem a good moral justification for expelling Armenians, as this was done in the Lysogorskaya village.

In the United States, the wages of policemen are raised when an interethnic situation is aggravated. What can be done in Russia? The higher the professional level of our law-enforcement bodies and the skill level in uncovering crimes, the less will be the temptation to fall into mob rule under which not personal, as in a real court, but collective responsibility prevails. Lastly, it is time to apply Article 74 on "the instigation of interethnic discord." Ethnic stereotypes must be banished from school textbooks, as has been done in America. The mass media also must get rid of them. A simple example can be given here. A summary of crimes perpetrated during a day is given over the radio or television. In two cases it is reported that crimes "have been committed by persons of Caucasian nationality." It would be natural to report in other cases that crimes "have been committed by persons of Slav" or at least "non-Caucasian nationality."

It will take not one or two years but decades to carry out this work. But it must be started right now. The Mikhailian family is not the last one. There are no more places for it to go and settle.

Galina Kovalskaya
STAVROPOL–MOSCOW

THIS WEEK

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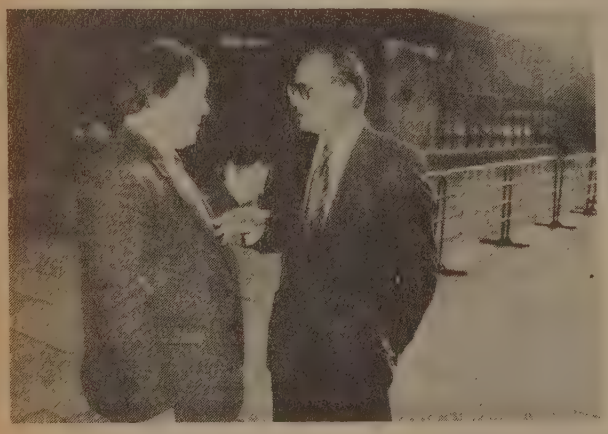
While the Russian government tried to straighten out conflicts in different regions of the former USSR a "hot spot" flared up in Moscow. It is the heated confrontation between the parliament and the mass media. The attack on the freedom of speech is headed by Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov. He charges that the press has thrown aside all restraint, "shipping up a conflict between executive and legislative power" and "spreading rumours throughout the world." The Speaker has a particular grudge against *Izvestia*. This newspaper dismisses any charges that it has anything in common with the former *Izvestia,* which was the mouthpiece of people's deputies of the USSR, and flatly refuses to again be published under the aegis of the parliament.

The first round in the confrontation has been won by the Russian parliament. It adopted a decision on measures to put right, by September 15, the state radio and television coverage of government activity. It also decided to bring the rebellious *Izvestia* under its control at all costs. After that the members of parliament went into recess with a feeling that they had done their duty.



Mikhail Poltoranin, Russia's Press Minister, and Igor Golembiovsky, Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Izvestia*, discussing a hot topic

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However, journalists are not going to yield. A group of editors-in-chief of a number of democratic periodicals applied to the President for help and received it twice. At a meeting with journalists he reaffirmed the policy of defending the freedom of speech and did the same next time after the parliament had adopted the above-mentioned decisions. On behalf of the President his press secretary said that he was deeply concerned over the discussion of the mass media question by the parliament. The President promised that "as a guarantor of the Constitution and democratic gains of the people he will take the necessary measures, in accordance with the Constitution and the law on the press, for defending the democratic mass media."

However, this statement did not satisfy some of the democratically oriented journalists. They think that the President could act more resolutely. In any event, the journalists intend to appeal to the Constitutional Court, which will evidently be working hard in the next few weeks.

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A start has been made at last! Drawn-out disputes over the changing of property relations, methods and forms of privatization and, what is important, on its pace and deadline, are a thing of the past. They have been overcome by the just published Law On Privatization of State-Owned and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation and the State Programme of Privatization for 1992. The President's Decree On Practical Measures for Transformation of State-Owned Enterprises and the Voluntary Associations into Joint-Stock Companies, and the Rules for the Commercialization of State-Owned Enterprises with Their Simultaneous Transformation into Joint-Stock Companies of the Open Type, came into force almost simultaneously. The time assigned for each stage of the transformation is highly limited. The rules on commercialization, for instance, set a biblical period of creation for this purpose – only a week.

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Georgy Matyukhin, Chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation, made a second attempt to resign, and succeeded. He explained his resignation by reasons of "poor health." But, it seems, the public is concerned not so much about the health of Russia's chief banker as the extremely ill state of its finances – clogged money circulation and incredible difficulties in mutual settlements between enterprises threaten a paralysis of the economy. Incidentally, many regard Georgy Matyukhin's action not as the desire to avoid responsibility but as a kind of protest against the government's endless violations of the law, under which the Central Bank is accountable only to the parliament, against its interference in the bank's credit and money policy and, in general, against "the treatment of this institution as if it were a milk cow."

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The attempt of the Ukrainian Rukh movement to topple the Vitold Fokin cabinet in the President's absence ended in failure. On returning from his tour of European countries, Leonid Kravchuk, true, announced changes in the government. But the main victim of changes turned out to be the man on whom the Rukh pinned its greatest hopes – 40-year-old Vice-Premier and Minister of Economy Victor Lanovoi, who enjoys the reputation of the "Ukrainian Gaidar" and a fervent advocate of a market economy, who is tightly linked with the opposition movement New Ukraine. Valentin Simonenko, 52, was appointed a new vice premier, with the significant addition "first." He has been entrusted with the implementation of economic reforms. This appointment gave rise to much gossip in Kiev. In parliamentary circles the new vice premier has earned the reputation of a witty man with a sharp tongue. In his plans for economic reform in Ukraine, however, he has not yet gone farther than insisting on the status of a free economic zone for his home city of Odessa. In the meantime Ukraine's economic situation is changing rapidly. The pace of reforms is slowing down and crisis phenomena are making themselves more and more evident.

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Less than a week ago Armenian President Levon Petrosian ordered the expulsion of Grair Marutsen, leader of the Dashnaktsu-

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tyun party, from the country on charges of cooperation with state security bodies. A counterblow was not slow in coming. *Azatomart,* the newspaper of the Dashnaktsutyun party, carried a photocopy of a reference marked "top secret." It was drawn up for Levon Petrosian by the Armenian KGB. It follows from the reference that the current President was a KGB employee and had the personal number Zh–385292.

The President did not ignore the sally. His press secretary explained that all graduates of Yerevan University's department of oriental studies were automatically listed as KGB reserves. Ter-Petrosian was registered in the KGB files according to the same principle. It is a riddle, however, how the copy of a compromising document from the KGB archives got into the hands of Dashnaks. Doesn't this fact confirm once again that Dashnaks had contacts with the Armenian CheKa-men?

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He who pleased everybody died before he was born. Such is the essence of a categorical statement made by the board of Russia's Interior Ministry. "No party and no political movement will be able to make the Interior Ministry staff blindly obey the instructions of a new 'leading and guiding one,'" the statement points out. The hurt felt in this statement can be easily explained. For its actions during demonstrations near the Ostankino TV centre the police were criticized both by national communists – for "extreme brutality," and by democrats – for "indecision and connivance." Interior Ministry chiefs were particularly stung by clear hints by democratic leaders that the guardians of public order dream of "old times."

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Foreign policy is one thing, and foreign economic relations is another. Such a conclusion was drawn after painful reflections by Tatar parliament, and instead of the planned single ministry that would be responsible for both foreign policy and foreign economic relations, it set up two – a Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties and a Department for Foreign Relations and Affairs of the Commonwealth of Independent States. It seems a new stage of planning has arisen in Kazan: what will the two departments do? It is clear that until Tatarstan defines its relations with Russia it is impossible to talk about a considerable extension of the republic's independent contacts with Western governments and businessmen.

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A unique prisoner is kept in one of the Kazakh labour camps. He receives 12 newspapers and 19 magazines, including the *New York Times, New Times International, Megapolis–Continent, Baltic Times* (a newspaper of the Lithuanian Popular Front), *Small Business, Manager, Lawyer* and others. The convicted person, local newspapers report, corresponds with a representative of the Convention Monarchic Sobor (assembly) of Russia, is studying by correspondence in the Russian Open University and at the psychology department of an extra-mural lyceum. The man is serving time for robbery.

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Peace has at last come to the worn out land of South Ossetia. Firing ceased in Tshinval and other settlements of that autonomous republic. The opposing forces strictly observe the cease-fire agreement. Thus, the accord reached between the Russian President and the Chairman of Georgia's State Council has taken effect. They evidently found a correct formula which enabled both sides, if not to eliminate the causes of the conflict then at least stop the senseless killing. Under the agreement peace-keeping forces of Russia, Georgia and Ossetia will be moved into the area of the conflict, forming a 15-km-wide security zone. The troops have already been concentrated in the places allotted to them.

The truce gives them hope

South Ossetian leaders believe that Russia's active and interested stand in the negotiating process proved a decisive factor for establishing peace in that region. However, the Georgian leader Shevardnadze should also be praised for his courage. He said at a State Council meeting that he was taking upon himself "full responsibility for the peacemaking actions." At the same time many understand that peace will be fragile in the region until the knotty problems dividing Ossetians and Georgians are removed.

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The normalization of the situation in Moldova is a more difficult process. Nevertheless, the agreement reached by Mircea Snegur and Boris Yeltsin, and backed by further peacemaking efforts, has yielded fruit: fire has ceased almost everywhere along the confrontation line. Bendery is the only place where shots can still be heard. Who is shooting – that is the question. It would appear that it is done by those who are interested in maintaining the tension in the region. The fate of the 14th Army remains unclear. Kishinev insists on withdrawing it from the region, alleging that it is the main cause of the conflict. Another stumbling block is the refusal of the Tiraspol authorities to accept Kishinev's offer of three ministerial posts and the post of deputy minister of defence in a new government as well as the proposal that all deputies from the Dniester republic return to the Moldavian parliament.

The leaders of the Dniester republic reply that these proposals are unacceptable for them until the status of the republic is determined. Some time ago, at the height of armed clashes, their stand on this question became much tougher: they demand independence, not less. Tiraspol's stand has not been softened by Kishinev's decision to dismiss Moldavian defence and national security ministers, who have a reputation of advocates of the "war party."

The forecast is rather dreary: if Snegur and Yeltsin do not sign the planned agreement on principles of a peaceful settlement in the Dniester Region and, what is more important, if it is not observed, we shall be seeing ourselves back at square one again.

Citoyen Louis Capet on trial

The Constitutional Court which is hearing "the case of the CPSU" will still not have, in all probability, delivered a judgement before this article sees the light of day. Yet I am sure that this judgement will be highly professional, well thought-out and that it will be passed with the feeling of profound responsibility for the future of democratic reforms in Russia. The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation has demonstrated by its recent effective activity, that it is one of the most serious and responsible institutions of nascent Russian democracy.

I am just as well sure that the decision of the Constitutional Court will not be completely legal, and this not at all because its members lack the required professional competence or good will, but because in the present situation the task set for the Court has no legal solution.

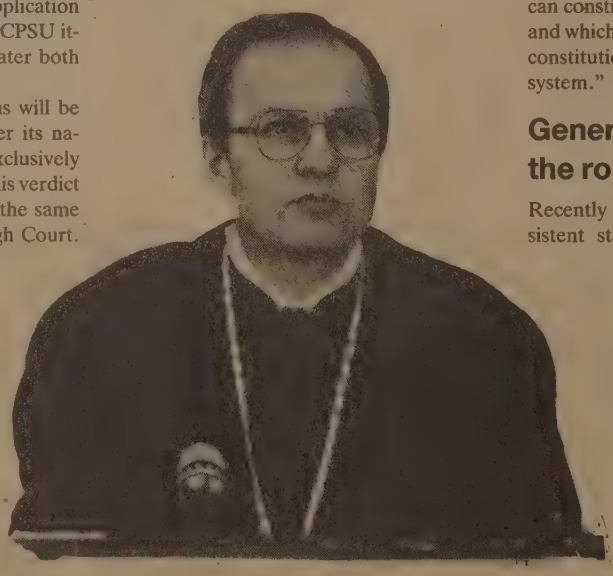
The Chairman of the Court, Valery Zorkin, had repeatedly and, no doubt, absolutely sincerely declared long before the trial began that he would not tolerate the trial being turned into a political one. But whereas there was some hope that he would succeed in this, as long as it was only a question of constitutionality of the President's decree banning the CPSU, the trial taking on a political character became unavoidable after Oleg Rumyantsev filed an application concerning the recognition of the CPSU itself being unconstitutional, and later both applications were united into one.

Of course, political implications will be absent from the verdict, whatever its nature, and the arguments will be exclusively legal ones. And if, nevertheless, this verdict happens to contradict the law at the same time, it will be no fault of the high Court. The issue is that the present Russian legal system itself, which hasn't so far undergone a radical reform, is internally contradictory and resembles an old blanket, patched many times and ready to fall into pieces any minute. Practically any legal argument in favour of one side can be countered by another one, equally based on the Law.

Even if the "blanket" of the Russian legal system were completely new and of one material, this problem would no doubt emerge in any case. Gödel's famous theorem of incompleteness of formal systems says that in any mathematical or logical system a question may be asked which can be answered only by going beyond the limits of this system. A legal system is essentially a formal system, which means that such questions will sooner or later arise in the framework of even the most ideal and logically uncontradictory legal system (if such is at all possible). I will add on my own behalf: in revolutionary periods this becomes unavoidable.

CPSU: the Moscow trial is taking place after the trial of history has already occurred

Certainly, Sergei Shakhrai and his colleagues on the "presidential team" are absolutely correct when they defend in the court the thesis that the CPSU has never been anything other than a criminal organization. Shakhrai's arguments are powerful and irrefutable. And yet the Moscow judges have hardly been as shocked as their Paris colleagues in 1949 when the famous case "Victor Kravchenko vs. Les Lettres Françaises" was heard. Then, it was the first time that the terrible crimes committed by the communist regime were disclosed in an independent court in Paris and concrete facts named, though only a small fraction of what Shakhrai has recently laid out in Moscow.



Chairman of the Constitutional Court Valery Zorkin: a difficult role performed with dignity

And although these same crimes were disclosed much more fully in the Moscow court, I would dare to disagree with those journalists who have already baptized this trial as a "trial of the century," because the Moscow trial is taking place **after** the Trial by History has already occurred... The judges simply can't avoid recognizing the truth in the arguments put forward by the "presidential team," they can't avoid denying "the criminal organization called the CPSU" the right to exist. Yet it won't be a capital sentence, but only a *post mortem* one, and for that very reason it's unlikely to stir up very strong emotions.

However, the absolute correctness of the CPSU opponents doesn't at all mean the incorrectness of its adherents. The latter simply talk of quite different matters, their attention is drawn by quite different patches on the "blanket" of the Russian legal system.

It's strange to talk about the unconstitutionality of the organization under whose immediate guidance all Union and republican constitutions had been actually created and which had been proclaimed by the same constitutions to be "the core of the Political system."

General Secretary in the role of a chancellor

Recently one comes across increasingly insistent statements in the press that the notorious "Article 6" appeared only in "Brezhnev's Constitution," while Stalin ostensibly avoided direct constitutional institutionalization of the party's leading role. I don't know the source of this delusion; it may be due to the fact that the provision for the CPSU's leading role in Stalin's Constitution was for some reason hidden in the chapter "The basic Rights and Duties of Citizens." There, in Article 126 on public organizations, the following passsage suddenly appears in its concluding lines:

"...the most active and conscious citizens... voluntarily unite into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union... which is the leading core of all working people organizations, both public and state ones."

Nota bene: **"state ones."** Thus the CPSU has long since been authorized to dictate its will to the state.

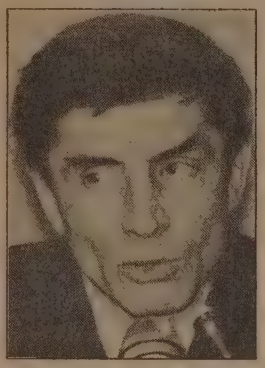
The abolition of the constitutional exclusiveness of the CPSU in 1990 somewhat strengthened the position of its legal opponents. Oleg Rumyantsev proves the unconstitutionality of the CPSU in his application, referring to part 2 of Article 7 of the Russian Constitution. After the abrogation of the notorious "Article 6" this article was added to the "Brezhnev" version of the Constitution on June 16, 1990. This article proclaims the inadmissibility of the "existence and functioning of parties, organizations and movements whose objective is a changing by force of the Soviet Constitutional system and of the integrity of the socialist state, shattering of its security, fostering of social, national or religious enmity."

Well, if one sticks to the letter and spirit of the law, one could hardly be able to find another, apart from the CPSU, party or organization which was so interested in the preservation of the **Soviet** social system and the **socialist** state. Here Rumyantsev's reference misses the target. As concerns enmity, both social and national, the CPSU really fostered it, but, so to speak, not de jure but de facto. The Constitutional Court won't find anything to this effect in the "Rules of the CPSU," while the party's practical activity in this direction is subject to investigation not by the Constitutional but criminal court. Article 4 of the Law on the Constitutional Court stipulates that it should "refrain from establishing and investigating actual circumstances in all cases when this falls under the competence of other courts or other bodies."

But this is not even most important. All talks about constitutionality or otherwise of the CPSU are devoid of sense in principle because the so-called "Soviet social and state system," an inalienable part of which was the CPSU, was essentially an unconstitutional regime. It functioned on an absolutely different basis. Yes, formally there was a constitution, which, however, didn't make the regime constitutional, because it was not "the common law" regulating life in the state. For absolutely the same reason, the existence of an elected Supreme Soviet which adopted some kinds of laws didn't make this regime a parliamentary republic. Which doesn't at all mean that the Soviet system was not legitimate, simply its legitimacy was based on principles other than legal ones.

THE DEFENDERS OF THE CPSU

Yury Slobodkin:



"The US Constitutional Court had better launch a suit against its own Democratic Party"

Gennady Zyuganov:

"Why is the application concerning the recognition of the unconstitutionality of the CPSU written with spelling mistakes?"

Vitaly Sevastyanov:

"The decision to create an interballistic missile was made as early as 1953. A nice sort of historical impasse!"

This is not the right place to analyse the sources of the Soviet regime's legitimacy. We can talk of violence and lies which lay at the basis of this legitimacy, and this will be true. Yet it will be equally true that after a time the people agreed to accept the *status quo* and concluded a *sui generis* "social contract" with the regime which until recently was observed on the whole.

It should be noted that a regime's stated legitimacy does not necessarily imply its approval. Thus, legitimate was the Hitlerite regime, it was internationally recognized and agreements were concluded (for instance the Munich Agreement) with it. The legitimacy of the Soviet regime was also internationally recognized. There is the signature of the CPSU General Secretary, even not camouflaged as a "Premier" or a "Chancellor," under many most important international documents. This did not in the least embarrass leaders of democratic states.

Thus the CPSU was an organic part of a quite legitimate regime which, by the way, has bequeathed us its, albeit rather peculiar, legislation we still live by. Of course, there have been attempts to somewhat adjust it to the new conditions, but this only resulted in its having acquired the above-mentioned character of a patch-work quilt. Thus far all attempts to convert the regime into a consistently constitutional one have been futile. A new, real Constitution is vitally necessary for the success of such attempts. However, the legislators don't want to follow the old injunction not to pour new wine into old wineskins, which is hardly surprising since we have received them, together with the old legislation, as the heirloom of those days when the CPSU was quite legitimate.

It's clear that the President's opponents look for provisions in the legislation they need, and easily find them. The judges will perhaps work out some formulations to counter the arguments of the CPSU advocates, but these formulations will enevitably look somewhat artificial. This will hardly be a meritorious conclusion of the "trial of the century."

THE OPPONENTS OF THE CPSU

Sergei Shakhrai:

"The communists have failed to understand or learn anything"

Andrei Makarov:

"The CPSU has made the state its property"

The king's flight to Varennes

Is it possible to solve this contradiction when both sides turn out to be right, each in its own way? I think that this is impossible in the framework of the existent formal legal system.

What I am going to say further will be hardly met with approval – we are still too allergic to the very word "revolution." The tragedy of 1917 has left so deep a scar on us that we eagerly forget that it's precisely to revolutions that the world owes the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789) and the Declaration of Independence (1776).

I will dare state nevertheless: the Decree of President Yeltsin of November 6, 1991, "On the Activity of the CPSU and the CP of the RSFSR" is to be regarded as a revolutionary decree imbued with profound historical justice, which was the first step towards building a new, democratic, state and legal system. The question of the adequacy of this revolutionary decree on the outlived legal system is irrelevant or, in plain English, has nothing to do with the situation. It is a legal basis onto itself.

It's time to recognize at last that the developments in Russia and in some other parts of the former USSR in recent years are a pure and simple revolution, i.e. a radical breaking of social and political system. The word "breaking" invokes the idea of a sudden, momentary action. Psychologically, a revolution is conveniently associated not with a process, but with an event – the taking of the Bastille, the salvo of the cruiser "Avrora..." We find nothing similar to that in our current history, and therefore it seems to us that we evolve. Leonid Radzikhovsky even called Yeltsin "the mirror of Russian evolution" in the magazine *Ogonyok*.

However, revolutions have always been a protracted and slow affair. I will indulge in a play on words: real revolutions (unlike coups) have always been evolutionary.

If we remember, for instance, the just mentioned taking of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, we'll see that this event was only the initial, the most striking, yet far from the most significant episode in the Great French Revolution. It failed to bring about the fall of the monarchy, or even the abolition of feudal land ownership (the "abolition of feudalism" proclaimed by the Constituent Assembly in August 1789 turned out to be a fraud, being reduced in practice to a ransom of feudal duties). The Constitution adopted two years later (in 1791) declared France a constitutional monarchy and directly connected political rights of citizens with their property qualifications (as if no Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen had been adopted in 1789).

The king's flight to Varennes in June 1791 was an analogue of our shameful August putsch. Precisely this ill-thought-out and absurd adventure put an end to the dragged-on experiment with constitutional monarchy. The stormy events entailed by this episode led first to a revision of the Constitution in favour of its radicalization and then to the overthrow of monarchy and the arrest of the king. "Citoyen Louis Capet" was brought to court. The advocate of Louis XVI based his plea namely on the unconstitutionality of the arrest and the trial (the Constitution of 1791 declared personal immunity of the monarch). It would have been perhaps worthwhile for our People's Deputies who wrote a collective appeal to the Court to first study the experience of their French colleagues.

Our, August, revolution

Another century, a different scenario, yet similar logic of self-development of revolution. It only remains for us to hope that the two centuries that have elapsed since those times (and especially our 3/4 of this century) haven't passed without leaving a trace and that in the future these parallel lines of development won't bring us a new edition of the Jacobin terror, Vandée and thermidor. It's for us to prove that revolution can be, if not "velvety," at least bloodless. Fortunately, we have already had examples thereof in our former "fraternal" countries.

However, there is only one way to achieve this: the country's democratically elected government, and primarily the President, should not make concessions to the resisting forces of the ancient regime, it must lead the revolution. To accomplish this, they have the electorate's mandate, unambiguously confirmed last August.

The post-August developments and the failure of reforms make evident the necessity of further revolutionary steps by Russian leaders – the convention of a Constituent Assembly and the adoption of a principally new Constitution; the agrarian reform; further radicalization of market reform; personnel and structural reforms of the management system aimed at complete removal of the nomenclatura influence. The adoption of a new Constitution is given priority here, because many of the expected decrees, indispensable for a full-fledged implementation of the programme, will inevitably come into collision with the present legal system. The Constitutional Court should be relieved of the false situation in which it finds itself, trying to pour new wine into old skins.

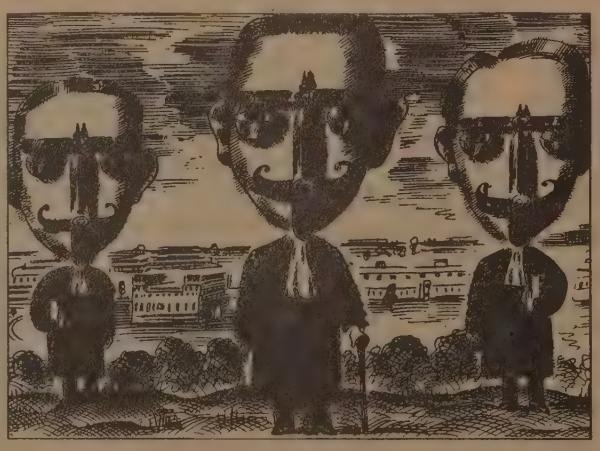
The President and his followers, as it seems, have now a sufficiently strong political base and the required personal qualities for the implementation of this programme. The question is not whether the revolution will continue – this has become unevoidable now, but whether it will continue peacefully. And this depends on whether the present Russian leadership manages to make use of the chances history has granted them.

This can be accomplished only on the conditions of the complete and unambiguous dissociation from the criminal regime, lovingly nursed over a long time by the criminal party now in the dock. Dissociation from all manifestations of this regime is necessary in economic, legal, state and other spheres. It's vital to recognize the revolutionary character of our current historical evolution – this recognition will determine the strategy and the tactics of further activities by the government and society.

The word "revolution" should scare us no more – we can't avoid it anyway, since, trying to declare ourselves "evolutionists" and "legal successors" to the former USSR (not only in the international sphere, but also, naturally, inside the country) and preserving the fundamentals of legal, property and other relations of the ancient regime, we continue to legalize one more time the heritage of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Let's better legalize our August revolution which, although not a Great one, has inspired in us a hope for a life worthy of humans.

Kronid Lyubarsky



Drawing from the Guardian (Great Britain)

DOSSIER

RESOLUTION

OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON ACCESSION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation rules that:

1. Approval shall be granted to the proposal by the government of the Russian Federation and the Central Bank of the Russian Federation with respect to the accession of the Russian Federation to the International Monetary Fund (hereinafter referred to as "the Fund"), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (hereinafter referred to as "the Bank") and the International Association for Development (hereinafter referred to as "the Association") by means of accepting

a) the Articles of the Agreements on the Fund, the Bank and the Association as amended (hereinafter referred to as "the Agreements"), whose texts are reproduced in annexes to the present resolution;

b) the conditions set out in the resolutions adopted by the Boards of Governors of the Fund, the Bank and the Association with respect to the membership of the Russian Federation in the aforegoing organizations.

2. The government of the Russian Federation and the Central Bank of the Russian Federation shall, in consultation with the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, appoint representatives empowered to sign the authentic texts of the Agreements on behalf of the Russian Federation and prepare the membership documents and other necessary documents and hand over to depositories for safekeeping.

In the course of accession of the Russian Federation to the Fund, the government of the Russian Federation and the Central Bank of the Russian Federation shall prepare and submit through their appointed representatives to the Fund for safekeeping a document on membership in the Department of Special Drawing Rights of the Fund, which should state that the Russian Federation assumes all the responsibilities of a member of the Department in accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation and has undertaken all the necessary steps enabling it to honour these obligations.

3. The government of the Russian Federation, in consultation with the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, shall, on behalf of the Russian Federation, have the right to receive loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and associated organizations and shall have the right to provide guarantees for loans in accordance with the provisions of agreements on loans and guarantees.

The government of the Russian Federation and the Central Bank of the Russian Federation are hereby requested to present to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation a programme for utilizing the loans received from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and associated organizations.

4. The Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation should borrow or obtain in any other expedient manner and contribute on behalf of the Russian Federation the sums of money which are to be periodically paid to the Fund, the Bank and the Association in accordance with the conditions set out in the resolutions with respect to the membership of the Russian Federation in the aforegoing organizations, or in the appropriate Agreements, and should also effect payments in connection with the membership of the Russian Federation in the Department of Special Drawing Rights of the Fund.

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The Central Bank of the Russian Federation shall act as the depository of the funds of the Fund, the Bank and the Association in the national currency of the Russian Federation.

The Central Bank of the Russian Federation is hereby empowered to issue non-negotiable non-interest-bearing notes in accordance with the Agreements on the Fund, the Bank and the Association, should it become necessary in connection with the membership of the Russian Federation in the Fund, the Bank and the Association.

5. The Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation shall act as a financial organ in accordance with the provisions of clause 1 of article V of the Agreement on the Fund and clause 2 of article III of the Agreement on the Bank and shall conduct on behalf of the Russian Federation all operations and transactions provided for in the various clauses of the Agreements on the Fund and the Bank.

The Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation shall perform all the functions as a channel of communications as provided for in clause 10 of article VI of the Agreement on the Association.

6. From the date of accession of the Russian Federation to the organizations enumerated in section 1 of the present resolution, the following provisions shall have legal force and be fully observed on the territory of the Russian Federation:

the provisions of clause 2 (b) of article VIII, the provisions of clauses from 2 to 9 inclusive of article IX, and the provisions of article XXI of the Agreement on the Fund;

the provisions of clauses from 2 to 9 inclusive of article VII of the Agreement on the Bank;

the provisions of clauses from 2 to 9 inclusive of article VIII of the Agreement on the Association.

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7. The Central Bank of the Russian Federation shall receive and transfer to the accounts of the Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation such sums of money as may be paid or transferred to the Russian Federation under operations and transactions provided for by the Agreements on the Fund and the Bank.

8. The Governors representing the Russian Federation in the Fund, the Bank and the Association, and their deputies, shall be appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation upon the recommendation of the government of the Russian Federation.

9. The government of the Russian Federation shall, in accordance with the present resolution, undertake such other steps as may be necessary to ensure observance of the responsibilities and implementation of the rights arising from the membership of the Russian Federation in the international organizations enumerated in section 1 of the present resolution.

10. The present resolution shall take effect on the date of its publication.

Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation
R.KHASBULATOV

Moscow, House of Soviets of Russia
May 22, 1992
No. 2815-1

RULING

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON ACCESSION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

Pursuant to the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation as of May 22, 1992 "On Accession of the Russian Federation to the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Association for Development," the government of the Russian Federation rules that:

1. The Plenipotentiary Representative of the government of the Russian Federation responsible for interaction with international financial organizations Kagalovsky K.G. shall

submit for safekeeping to the depositories of the Articles of the Agreement on the International Monetary Fund (hereinafter referred to as "the Agreement on the Fund"), the Articles of the Agreement on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (hereinafter referred to as "the Agreement on the Bank") and the Articles of the Agreement on the International Association for Development (hereinafter referred to as "the Agreement on the Association") the documents on acceptance by the Russian Federation of the above agreements and the conditions set out in the resolutions adopted by the Boards of Governors of the Fund, the Bank and the Association with respect to the membership of the Russian Federation in the aforegoing organizations;

submit for safekeeping to the Fund a document on the membership of the Russian Federation in the Department of Special Drawing Rights of the Fund;

sign the authentic texts of the Agreements on the Fund, the Bank and the Association on behalf of the Russian Federation.

2. With the object of formalizing the membership of the Russian Federation in the International Monetary Fund, a delegation of the Russian Federation consisting of the following members shall be dispatched to the city of Washington for the period from May 30 until June 4 of this year:

Kagalovsky K.G. – the Plenipotentiary Representative of the government of the Russian Federation responsible for interaction with international financial organizations (head of the delegation);

Ambartsumov Ye.A. – Deputy Chairman of the Committee of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on international affairs and external economic ties;

Vavilov A.P. – First Deputy Minister of Finance of the Russian Federation;

Ignatiev S.M. – Deputy Chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation;

Lavrov S.V. – Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation;

Subbotin N.A. – deputy head of the Division for Interaction with International Financial Organizations of the government of the Russian Federation.

The foreign exchange expenses related to the visit of the delegation to the city of Washington shall be defrayed by the funds of the Republican Currency Reserve of the Russian Federation, and the ruble expenses shall be defrayed out of the reserve fund of the government of the Russian Federation.

3. The Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation shall, in consultation with the Central Bank of the Russian Federation, make provisions for the allocation of the necessary funds for the payment of the membership contributions of the Russian Federation in the amounts, according to the procedures and within the time limits set forward in the agreements on the Fund, the Bank and the Association and the resolutions adopted by the Boards of Governors of the Fund, the Bank and the Association with respect to the membership of the Russian Federation in the aforegoing organizations.

First Deputy Chairman
of the government of the Russian Federation
Ye. GAIDAR

Moscow
May 26, 1992
No. 345

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RULING

OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION SUPREME SOVIET ON PROCEDURE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION LAW "ON TAXATION OF BANKING PROFITS"

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet hereby rules that:

1. The RSFSR law "On Taxation of Banking Profits" shall take effect on January 1, 1992.

2. The said law shall be used for effecting payments to the budget beginning with the results of the operation of banks in 1992.

3. Part 1 of article 18 of the RSFSR law "On Banks and Banking in the RSFSR" shall be complemented with the following subitem:

"k) refusal to comply with instructions of the RSFSR State Customs Service concerning the payment, without reservations, of the taxes and other charges subject to be paid to the budget, upon application of the RSFSR State Tax Service."

4. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee shall send to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet proposals on altering legislative acts in conformity with the said law before January 15, 1992.

5. The Russian Federation government shall ensure conformity of its rulings with the said law before February 15.

6. The RSFSR Central Bank shall bring the normative acts regulating banking activities in conformity with the said law before February 15, 1992.

7. Payment of bank credits shall be regarded as part of costs of product (work, services) of enterprises within a rate of 25 percent.

8. The RSFSR Press and Information Ministry shall be charged with the publication of this law.

9. The RSFSR State Tax Service and the RSFSR Economics and Finance Ministry shall publish instructions on the application of this law.

Chairman of the Supreme Soviet
of the Russian Federation
R. KHASBULATOV

Moscow, House of Soviets of Russia
December 12, 1991

RULING

OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION SUPREME SOVIET ON PROCEDURE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION LAW "ON PERSONAL PROPERTY TAXES"

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet hereby rules that:

1. The RSFSR law "On Personal Property Taxes" shall take effect on January 1, 1992.

2. Pending harmonization of Russian Federation legislative acts and the RSFSR law "On Personal Property Taxes," legislative acts of the USSR on local taxes shall apply insofar as they do not contradict the said law.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee shall send, before February 1, 1992, a proposal to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the harmonization of the legislative acts of the Russian Federation with the RSFSR law "On Personal Property Taxes."

3. The Russian Federation government shall be charged with:

harmonizing, before February 1, 1992, the normative acts of the Russian Federation government, ministries, state committees and agencies of the Russian Federation with the RSFSR law "On Personal Property Taxes";

providing for, before July 1, 1992, the assessment of the value of structures, premises and buildings belonging to individuals as personal property.

Chairman of the Russian Federation
Supreme Soviet
R. KHASBULATOV

Moscow, House of Soviets of Russia,
December 9, 1991

MOSCOW BUSINESS WEEK

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RUSSIAN FEDERATION LAW ON PERSONAL PROPERTY TAXES

Article 1. Taxpayers

The personal property tax shall be paid by physical persons who own the property mentioned in this law.

Article 2. Objects of Taxation

Taxable under this law shall be houses, apartments, dachas, garages and other structures, premises and buildings, as well as powerboats, helicopters, aircraft and other transport means except for cars and trucks, motorcycles and other vehicles and pneumatically-propelled mechanisms.

Article 3. Tax Rates

1. The tax on structures, premises and buildings shall be paid every year at a rate of 0.1 per cent of their inventory cost, and, provided the inventory cost was not determined, of the cost of these structures, premises and buildings as determined in the assessment of the mandatory state insurance amount.

2. The transport means tax shall be collected according to the power of the engine as follows:

Taxable vehicle	Tax (copecks)
Helicopters, aircraft, motor ships:	
per h.p.	50
or kWt of power	68
Yachts, motorboats	
per h.p.	30
or every kWt of power	40.8
Snowmobiles, powerboats and other transport means:	
per h.p.	15
or every kWt of power	20.4

3. Tax payments shall be made to the budget of the local Soviet of People's Deputies at the location (place of registration) of the object of taxation.

Article 4. Tax Benefits

1. The following shall be exempted from payment of the taxes established by this law:

Heroes of the Soviet Union and recipients of the Order of Glory of three degrees;

disabled persons of groups 1 and 2;

Civil War and WWII veterans and other participants in operations for the defence of the USSR, including servicemen who served with military units, headquarters and agencies within the active army and former partisan fighters;

volunteer employees of the Soviet Army, Navy, the law-enforcement and national security bodies who filled established posts in military units, headquarters and agencies in the active army during WWII, as well as persons who were at that period in the cities to which participation in defence is credited toward the length of service entitling one to early retirement on terms established for servieemen in the active army;

persons entitled for benefits under the RSFSR law "On Social Protection of Citizens Who Were Exposed To Radiation Following The Chernobyl Accident."

2. The following shall be exempted from the tax on structures, premises and buildings:

pensioners;

soldiers, sailors, sergeants, non-commissioned officers in the army and navy for the period of active military service.

3. Owners of powerboats having engines with power under 10 h.p. or 7.4 kWt shall be exempted from the tax on transport means.

4. Soviets of People's Deputies of an autonomous region, autonomous district, regions, incorporated towns and municipal districts shall have a right to reduce tax rates and extend extra benefits for the taxes established by this law both for categories of taxpayers and for individual taxpayers.

A municipal Soviet of People's Deputies (in an unincorporated town), and village and settlement Soviets of People's Deputies may extend tax benefits to individual taxpayers only.

Article 5. Procedure for Assessment and Payment of Taxes

Taxes shall be assessed by tax authorities.

Persons entitled to benefits shall present the required documents to tax bodies at their own initiative.

2. The tax on structures, premises and apartments shall be assessed on the basis of the data on their inventory value on January 1 of each year that is submitted by municipal authorities, and in the case of no inventory having been taken, on the basis of the value as determined for the assessment of the mandatory state insurance amount for these structures, premises and buildings.

Each owner shall pay the tax on co-owned structures, premises and buildings in proportion to his individual share in these structures, premises and buildings.

3. The tax on transport means shall be calculated on the basis of the state of a vehicle on January 1 of the taxation year, using data that is presented annually to tax authorities by state inspectorates for small ships and other organizations that register transport means.

4. The data required for the calculation of taxes shall be presented to the tax bodies free of charge.

5. The tax on new structures, premises and buildings, as well as on acquired transport means, shall be paid since the beginning of the year following that of their construction or acquisition.

Provided a transport means is co-owned by several physical persons, the tax shall be collected from the person who is registered as the owner of the transport means.

Provided a structure, premises or building change hands as an inheritance, the tax shall be payable by the legatee from the time he comes into the legacy.

Provided a structure, premises, building or transport means is ruined or demolished, the collection of tax shall end beginning in the month in which it was ruined or demolished.

6. Provided the title to a structure, premises, building or transport means passes from one owner to another within one calendar year, the original owner shall pay tax from January 1 of that year to the beginning of the month in which he gave up title to the said property, and the new owner, from the month in which he acquires the right of property.

7. Provided a payer becomes entitled to a benefit within a calendar year, taxes are reassessed beginning in the month in which this entitlement arose.

8. A tax authority shall advise the payer of the payment of tax annually not later than August 1.

9. An owner shall pay tax in two equal shares, one not later than September 15, and the other not later than November 15.

10. Individuals who are not invited to pay tax in due time shall not be obliged to pay it for a period longer than the preceding three years.

11. Wrongly assessed taxes can be revised only for the period of the preceding three years.

Russian Federation President
BORIS YELTSIN

MOSCOW BUSINESS WEEK

Shock therapy. Not for us

Arkady Volsky, Chairman of the Russian Union of Manufacturers and Entrepreneurs, is believed to be a highly influential politician acting behind the scenes, though he heads only one of the numerous public organizations. His Union is called "a party of managers." What do the managers want?

A rare photo shows Arkady Volsky at a meeting. Usually he prefers a more reputable political style. During the past month three new Vice-Premiers have been appointed and two centrist blocs formed with his assistance

New Times. Many think that you and your Union are behind the latest changes in the government. Would you confirm or deny this opinion?

Arkady Volsky. I would not confirm or deny this opinion in any way. We supported the appointment of Vladimir Shumeiko, Georgy Khizha and even Chernomyrdin because they have their feet planted firmly on the ground. They are familiar with industrial production and know the smell of gas and oil. The appointment of three new Vice-Premiers is not someone's whim but a necessity. I'm sure the President took the right measure because the government needs people who at least understand what they are talking about.

Some pronouncements by our government officials give factory workers a shock. We must have ministers who find a common language with the people. We quake with fear for three days after the Economics Minister says on TV that a number of show-bankruptcies should be held and mentions the Rostov Farm Machinery Plant as an example. A total of 45,000 people are employed at this plant. But something else is more important. The Rostov plant turns out 70 percent of the country's combine harvesters. It would be absurd to leave farmers without harvesters only because some propose making the Rostov plant an example to demonstrate the mechanism of a bankruptcy. None of the three new Vice-Premiers would come out with a suggestion of this kind.

N.T. Are you sure the Gaidar team will find a common language with new members of the government?

A.V. It is important for all members of the government to find a common language with each other. They must have a strong desire to do that, but such a desire has not been shown yet. It will be very bad for all of us, myself included, if the members of the government do not find common language.

N.T. You certainly know that the appointment of three new Vice-Premiers was described as a breakthrough for the military-industrial complex (MIC) which is concerned only with its self-preservation. Their interests, however, are not entirely identical with the government line.

A.V. Well, it would be absurd if the government disowned the MIC. Neither the government nor Vice-President Rutskoi should do that. Russia only, not counting other member states of the Commonwealth, has 1,500 munition factories in which 7.5 million people are employed.

We feared America for a long time, We built munition factories in Siberia and the Far East. Half of them are not indicated on the industrial map of the country. The best engineers, the elite workers and the best, mainly imported, equipment are concentrated there. Today social tension at the defence-related enterprises is very high because government orders have slumped by 60 percent. The personnel has been given a two-month holiday without pay, and employees are beginning to get sacked. As many as 300,000 people are today on the jobless roll in the MIC, and by the end of the year the figure is to rise to 1.5 million at least.

N.T. Do you think it is the government's guilt rather than an objective process?

A.V. It is an objective process, but the vacuum should be filled with something. The US Congress has allocated 400 million dollars to us for conversion, and the European Community is going to appropriate money for this purpose. These sums must be used for conversion, rather than spent on food or wasted. Arms manufacturing should be reduced and converted to the production of consumer goods. But money is needed for this purpose.

N.T. But 400 million dollars is not enough for this purpose.

A.V. Well, it's enough for a running start. It seems 100 billion dollars are now allocated for conversion. But how? By the way, Vice-President Rutskoi is right. Money should be allotted through a customer. For instance, the farmers need a mini-tractor. So let them order it from a munition factory. At present money is given to defence-related enterprises indiscriminately. This is the government's guilt, of course.

N.T. Talk about conversion has been going on for several years now, but it seems things haven't gotten rolling yet.

A.V. The volume of consumer goods produced by munition factories today constitutes 60 percent of their total output. These enterprises began to turn out machines and other equipment for light industry, mini-bakeries and mini-complexes for processing agricultural products. Some of them have been leased out. A munition factory recently built in the city of Volzhsky now manufactures refrigerators. However, at roughly 500 munition factories the production of consumer goods has not yet been started.

N.T. What you have mentioned is positive. But it is ersatz conversion, nevertheless.

A.V. It was ersatz conversion when a plant which assembled on-board computer complexes for cruise missiles began to make pans. But today the same plant is getting ready to produce TV sets in cooperation with Koreans while the Positron plant is about to produce videotape recorders. It is already a serious approach to the use of the industrial potential.

N.T. Did the government consider the possibility of munition factories earning profit by arms export?

A.V. This question was considered. I think the President did the right thing by allowing the munition factories which sell their products to the West, on a competitive basis, to keep virtually all currency earned for their conversion purposes.

Arms sale is a different question. How should it be conducted? I think politicians should take part in this matter. Their participation is simply necessary. Politicians must define countries to which arms cannot be supplied (but then without exception, on a fair basis) and a group of countries to

which arms can be sold on a competitive basis.

I can state with satisfaction, for instance, that the Finnish army has both French Mirage and our MIG planes in service. Sanctions against Glavkosmos (central space research agency) for the supply of engines to India for its peaceful research rockets look absurd. It is simply an attempt to oust Russia from the world market.

N.T. How are you going to maintain the level of our military-industrial complex?

A.V. Over many years we have built up an immense backlog. I think it will be enough for my life, and for your life too. For instance, the United States supplied Israel with Patriot missiles, a miracle of military production, and they accurately knocked down our Scud missiles produced in the sixties. Today we have missiles more effective than Patriots.

N.T. You have in mind research and development work while I am talking about material production. How will the MIC be financed?

A.V. If there are customers such a question does not arise, does it? It does not matter who will be the customer – the Defence Ministry of the Russian Federation, the United Arab Emirates or Finland.

If there are no customers, the MIC can exist today on credits – government and bank. I see no other way out.

N.T. What are the prospects of privatization in the military-industrial complex?

A.V. The defence industry will, as a whole, never be privatized. Only a person with morbid imagination can suggest privatization of an atomic bomb plant or cosmodrome.

Some of the plants will be conditionally privatized, in the form of share-holding, for instance. The plants manufacturing both arms and consumer goods should be privatized partly. Shops producing goods for civil needs should be privatized first: I think this idea ought to be accepted quietly.

N.T. It is no secret that many see the fact that your "party of managers" has taken the offensive as the proof of the latter's personal interest in the course of privatization.

A.V. This idea was ridiculed by all managers. I have just returned from Ivanovo. The people who are called "millionaires" in the press are in fact poor. The managers of textile mills and their weavers do not receive wages. I have applications for dismissal from 60 managers. They are tired of being buffers, for they keep the people from taking to the streets.

N.T. Does Yeltsin consult with you? Do you meet with him?

A.V. He consults with us and we meet. However, the President did not show us the decree on bankruptcy in advance. Somebody had offered it before his visit to the United States and he signed. We do not even know who offered the decree. But we will find out.

In most cases we receive drafts of laws and decrees from the parliament, the President and the government. But it was different with the decree on bankruptcy, and it is not the first time.

N.T. How do you feel about the government, not its mistakes but its line?

A.V. A typical question – are you for or against the government, for Whites or Reds? I don't care at all what kind of people are in the government. The main thing is that it should implement the course.

The government lays emphasis on macroeconomics. It is intent on carryingt out the recommendations of international financial organizations. But recently I met with top officials of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. They tell us: we give you advice, but do not teach you to do stupid things. We say: the liberalization of the economy is necessary, but we do not propose creating a shortage of cash money. The latter is our specific "novelty."

Our government is in the air, up in the clouds. It does not have its feet set firmly on the ground. The government does not want to work with factory managers. The chairmen of collective and state farms, which today account for 98 percent of agricultural produce, are regarded by it as "Red feudal lords" and factory managers as "defence generals." As one theoretician said recently, it is necessary to "break their backbone." Whose backbone? Our own?

N.T. Some aspects of the government's line – its tough credit and antimonopoly policy, for instance – are adverse to the interests of factory managers.

A.V. Can you find a person, from the extreme left to the extreme right, who would say: I don't support the reforms. If you find such a person he will be told: You are a fool. I think that even ultra-patriots favour the reforms. There must, however, be a mechanism for implementing them. But such a mechanism does not exist.

Some people in our country like to mention the Polish experience, shock therapy. In Russia shock therapy is impossible. Owing to our habit of running to extremes it is becoming shock surgery. Moreover, Polish society is consolidated to a much greater extent than ours: 95 percent of the people are Catholics. Cardinal Glemp could say: no strikes, and there were no strikes there.

The Solidarnosc movement also consolidated society. The government had its "feet" planted firmly on the ground. There was support from below. We also want to drum up mass support.

N.T. You said that you did not care at all what kind of people are in the government. Does this mean that your Union does not have political aims and programmes?

A.V. We have political aims. It is our desire that the people should live well. If the party of Father Gleb Yakunin or, say, Telman Gdlyan wins in the political struggle tomorrow I have nothing against it provided a correct policy is pursued.

N.T. Do you think there can today be no serious alternative to the Gaidar cabinet?

A.V. I support Gaidar, and not only because horses are not changed in midstream, though this is essential too, but because he is a respected man in his field. However, one cannot be an expert in everything. Even a highly talented employee of the newspaper *Pravda* can sometimes lose sight of something. For this purpose he must have beside him people who know how to do it. It's senseless to replace Gaidar today. He knows macroeconomics well, perhaps even better than my friend Yavlinsky. It is a complex question.

N.T. How do you feel about the Russian National Sobor (assembly) which was formed almost simultaneously with your Obnovlenie (Renewal) Union?

A.V. Let us recall 1917. In March of that year the Bolshevik party had only 30,000 members, and in November it came to power. So anything can happen in life. The main thing is to avoid this fortuity. People should live well and get their wages. They should live, not merely exist.

One government official recently said on TV that pensioners could not get their money for two months and the index should therefore be readjusted for them over this period. What pensioners urgently need now is food, not the indexing of their pensions.

When I talk with members of parliament I constantly tell them: believe me, neither the left nor the right will remain when cataclysms begin. It is naive to think that anyone of you will survive. Quite different people will appear in the parliament if the election is held today. The present members think that they will remain with their parties and factions.

N.T. Indeed, I am rather surprised by the boldness with which everyone, the President included, backs the idea of a referendum.

A.V. Gavriil Popov (former mayor of Moscow) came out with the idea of a Constituent Assembly. Neither he nor I will be elected to this assembly. Believe me, other people will come. The democrats have already shown they are unable to ensure a decent existence for the people 80 percent of whom today live below the poverty line. What will come next? Degradation and further impoverishment.

N.T. Do you maintain ties with businessmen, those who are called the "nouveaux riches" in our country?

A.V. I maintain ties with them. Konstantin Borovoi is a board member of our Union. By the way, he lashed out at me thrice recently, probably automatically. Today one can strike out with impunity only at the military-industrial complex.

N.T. Does this mean you have no prejudice against "speculators"?

A.V. I don't have prejudice. I have found a very convenient way out. My deputy, Professor Vladislavlev, deals with businessmen. At present the nouveaux riches account for only four percent of the country's output. Every Tuesday and Thursday Vladislavlev holds a council meeting at which they discuss where and how they can earn more money. I deal with other matters. It is my great desire that our motherland should live in prosperity.

Interviewer Marina Shakina

Oleg Kiselev: I'm a patriot of my capital

The authors of the project "New Russian entrepreneurs" (a project financed by the commercial enterprise Tekhnobank and stock company Rinako) present the views of a pragmatic. He is a successful and calculating businessman. To some he may seem to be too rational. But he is sincere and not lacking in charm

"We have already tried to build communism in our country and the world, but it is possible to build something only in one's own family"

BACKGROUND

Oleg Kiselev is 38, married and has an eight-year-old son. He has a Ph.D. in engineering. Until the end of 1988 he climbed the ladder working for the government. He became the director of the Institute of Chemical Physics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. He was well off and respected. Later he set up his own cooperative and immediately found himself in a category with people disrespected – money-grabbers, self-seekers and swindlers. Now he is the general director of the joint-stock society Alfa-eko and the Chairman of the Council of Directors of stock company Mosexpo.

His character. I'm a strange person – my life has gone in cycles of four or five years. At the beginning of each cycle I'm full of gigantic optimism, I see vast perspectives and am in a state of strong internal excitment, even a euphoria, and everything goes smoothly. Later I organize and put what I have undertaken to do in order. And then I reach the stage when it becomes boring to me. I begin to look for new ideas and possibilities. However, I'm not a destroyer. And at the same time I'm basically constant. Therefore any change comes extremely hard to me. I always go on to a new stage, to a new activity, not rejecting the former but building on what has been achieved.

HIS OWN BUSINESS

Leaving my government job to open a cooperative was a very tough decision for me. Of course, I wanted to make a lot of money. But more than that I was seeking personal freedom and some way to realize myself. I wanted to satisfy my ambition and dreamed of being independent. When I set up a cooperative, the amount of responsibility which I bore didn't diminish. But it was of a different sort. I became master of the situation and that gave me a sense of personal freedom. And all the money gave me a certain independence. In general, I soon understood that I would never work for the government again.

RUSSIAN BUSINESS

We live in a country with big economic problems. But at the same time Russia is a real Klondike for entrepreneurs. Both I and those who started together with me quickly understood that the main thing was to adjust to the rapidly changing situation. You must not settle on one thing. First there opened up the opportunity to set up a cooperative and we did that. Then there came along the opportunity to create a joint enterprise and we did that.

Later it became possible to own stocks and legalize our holdings – so we did that. In short, the juridical form in which we clothe our business doesn't make any differ-

ence to us. What's important is to keep up with the changing situation.

What is happening after all? The government is step by step opening up different spheres to private business: first small-scale production, then trade, and now we are getting into big industry and export-import. And as soon as the government opens up one or another sphere, the most energetic and enterprising people out to make big profits rush into it. Here is a classical example: privatization of housing has begun and while the market is just forming and there are no set prices, naturally, big money can be made and it's stupid and ridiculous not to do so.

Capital is something objective. It flows to where there is the most profit and the least resistence. Consequently, the entrepreneur is someone who sees and understands that process, and who can make the best use of capital.

Remember in Saint-Exupéry's *The Little Prince* there was an emperor who said that he could do anything. So the Little Prince asked him if he could make the sun rise. The emperor answered: "Yes, but you must wait until five o-clock." And on that planet the sun rose at exactly five o'clock.

Likewise we entrepreneurs only deal with a concrete thing which is called capital. Therefore we work in different spheres going from one to another which at the given moment brings the most profit. The American proverb "never put all your eggs in one basket" is very appropriate for the Russian businessman right now. In order to flourish we must not concentrate on one business. Not long ago it was most lucrative to be trade intermediaries. And now there is an overabundance of stock brokers and dealers – they're coming out of our ears.

PHILOSOPHY

Probably it's not very modest of me to say so, but I'm a millionaire. By the way, that doesn't surprise anyone anymore – there are a lot of millionaires in Russia these days, an awful lot. When I left my government job to go into business for myself, one of the main reasons was the big money. Because the main task of any man is to feed his family. And all talk about work for the sake of an idea is bullshit as I see it. When I look into the eyes of my wife and son, I especially clearly understand: my ideas are my ideas, but if I have to give up a job which feeds my family because of them – that's bad, even immoral. At any rate, I can't accept that.

A person should do what he can to best feed his family. Therefore you must understand what you do best. And even if you don't like doing it very much, you should remember your obligation to your family. You are responsible for feeding them – that is your task. And if you feed them poorly, it means you are a bad person, a bad man. And no one can convince me of the morality of a man who dooms his family to misery for the sake of creativity. And I can't accept living only for society. For me society is first of all my family. We have already tried to build communism in our country and the world, but the matter is that you can only build something in your own family.

We often talk about the responsibility of the entrepreneur before society. But I don't share Tolstoy's ideas about loving all mankind. I really don't understand what it means to love society. I understand what it is to love one's mother, wife or child. I understand the need to be responsible in relations with friends and colleagues. However this doesn't mean that I am against charity. I know that it is necessary to feed the needy and thus avoid cataclisms in society. Money should be given to the poor and not to get out of taxes. The more people who live normally, the better my situation will be.

I am probably too rational, but I'm a human being. I also get sentimental. (For example, Kiselev gave some of his own money to the Baby Yar Committee and supports a baby orphanage. – **Ed.**) The director of a school came to me and I saw that he was a very talented man and had already done much himself. But additional money was needed to go further and I helped him.

But I am categorically against helping those who can manage on their own. For instance, my office is on the territory of the Academy of Sciences and I still maintain contacts with it. But when the director of some institute or his assistant comes to me and asks for money I say I can't help them. Maybe I could, but I won't and I don't conceal that. I might have financed some project I thought useful. But I don't intend to feed some healthy man or women doing routine work. They're not children, nor invalids. Ours is a poor country and we must learn to live within our means. I place an order for what I need and it is made for me. But I won't pay for something I don't see any reason for.

I hate three qualities: sponging, incompetence and lack of responsibility. It is these qualities that are destroying our country. Even our entrepreneurs are often irresponsible. You make an appointment with one and he doesn't show up. And later he says he forgot or makes some other stupid excuse.

I bow down to professionals. However, I respect both those who make millions and those who do business on a smaller scale, but are professional and reliable. For example, someone who runs a good restaurant or store or a dressmaking shop.

In a normal society the personal income of the owner and professional is about the same. We will not get out of the hole we are in until that begins to be true here. For example, when the doctors struck, the government raised the pay of all of them at the same time. But there are some of them who don't deserve a cent. There's got to be a direct link between the income of a person and his skill.

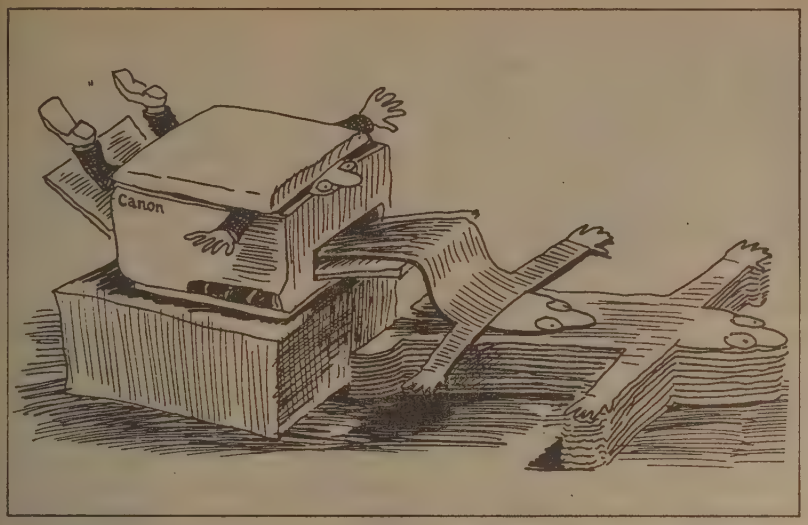
MONEY

A high income has not changed my way of life much. A don't think my consumer appetite is higher than that of any normal person with money. I live in a three-room cooperative apartment which was purchased before I became an entrepreneur. It is furnished as it was then – we don't feel a need for anything better. I have a car – the seventh model of the Zhiguli. My wife has one, too. Last year I bought quite a nice *dacha* not far from Zagorsk. I was there three times and decided to sell it because I understood we didn't need it. Luckily my wife is fairly modest. I don't think she even suspects the possibilities with the amount of money we have – she doesn't ask for diamonds or fancy clothes. I even have to encourage her to spend more money on herself than before. I hope that my son has inherited this trait from her. Actually only two things have changed in our life in the last few years: my wife doesn't work anymore and I try to see to it that she and my son travel as much as possible and see the world. That is the main luxury we permit ourselves.

But I myself only travel when business necessitates it and take a maximum of 10 days off a year. All that is a big drain on me and sometimes I suddenly want to drop everything and buy a small hotel somewhere in the Alps and live quietly. But that mood quickly passes.

I understood long ago that money for me was not a means for getting some additional material blessings. I'm a first generation businessman and still can't spend money for my own pleasure. The high life is for people who are used to having a lot of money. Maybe my son or my grandson will buy works of art, boats, build big houses – that is enjoy what money can buy. But it is already too late for me to change my lifestyle. If I made a break with my past and changed something, it would just be banal mercantilism.

Nevertheless I value money. For me it's a measure of success. Before there was a sys-



Drawing by Alexander Zudin

tem of all sorts of state stimuli – awards, medals, posts. Now that's no good anymore. But a man must evaluate his work somehow, and praise alone isn't enough. And I came to the conclusion that the criterion – at least in my business – is money.

PATRIOTISM

I'm not so much a patriot of the country I live in as a patriot of my capital. I can't say to my capital: "You know, dear, live in this country where you'll probably soon be lost because I was born here. Whether I love this country or not, to doom my capital to certain death is a crime in my business. If I am a real professional entrepreneur I must have my capital in a region where it is as safe as possible, where it makes the most profit. Yes, I love this country, I was born here and I am Russian. So, if the question of leaving the country comes up, it will be a very difficult one for me. But if there is a threat to my family or my business, I won't think twice, I'll leave. I don't want to leave this country, and God forbid that unbearable conditions for my work and family will be created here.

OUR PEOPLE

Today, not firms, not the names of these firms, but the people earn money. Therefore it is very important who is in charge of one or another firm. Probably those that started from scratch, literally having 10 rubles in their pockets, have the best future – they are the most viable. But today's market is mostly in the hands of former dealers and managers of shadow economy who, putting it mildly, don't stop at anything right up to strong arm tactics to achieve their goals.

Unlike many of the new entrepreneurs, I don't think so badly of the so-called red directors. If we really are to privatize rapidly we must face reality. We must understand that there is no other big group of capitalists who could privatize the enterprises and run them more or less. The old administration had its own system of selection. Good or bad, it nevertheless advanced the most resourceful, clever, hardy and tough. Probably these people again through various ruses and subterfuges are trying to privatize their enterprises mainly pursuing their own personal interests. And if, say, the director of a plant manages to privatize the enterprise keeping the key position for himself, I don't see anything wrong with that. I think it is much worse to divide the assets of a plant up equally between the people who work there. In running a company collective reason is worse than that of the individual. Lastly, is the risk involved, but it results in a big leap forword. Let me give an example. A cooperative earned quite a bit of money. Maybe one of their members says: "Let's take all the money and invest it in a certain thing and we'll make a hundred percent profit." They respond: "But we could lose it all." He may try to persuade them to take the risk, but, as a rule, the majority will vote against it. It is known that only 5-6 percent of all people are inclined to take risks – and those are your entrepreneurs.

POLITICS

I would like to stay out of politics, but I know that is impossible. Nevertheless I won't officially support any of the existing parties. When it comes right down to it, our company will put up with any government which doesn't limit our possibilities. Maybe someone doesn't like that and even sees it as immoral, but it's all the same to me if democrats or the communists are in power. I'll go along with any government which allows me to work normally. I only fear the fascists, for they always are a threat to personal safety. Not long ago my colleagues invited me to a pre-congress meeting of citizens – I went there just out of curiosity, not any particular political convictions. But when I forced my way through the pickets of the red-browns who shouted in my face that I was a toady of Yelstin and Zionist rabble, I became so angry that I came into the hall already on the side of those sitting there. However a majority of them didn't appeal to me either and I couldn't accept their enthusiasm about Yeltsin. Of course, like everyone else, I prefer some political leaders to others, for example, Popov and Sobchak. For they are intelligent people, and in politics like in any other sphere, I am attracted by culture and intelligence. Therefore, it's obvious why I can't stand Zhirinovsky. Ideally I'd like the attitude to political leaders to be about like that in the Swiss Confederation: they only find out who is president towards the end of the year when his term is almost up, but nevertheless life goes on as usual and people agree between themselves.

Our policy and politicians right now can't provide the main thing – stability. And its absence makes for chaos in the economy and lawlessness. Americans, for example, know that violating the right to private property or not paying taxes are two of the worst crimes. Here, if a normal law is introduced, it remains on paper. Moreover, the administrators and enforcers are totally incompetent. For example, I have been negotiating for an office in the centre of the city for three months. I intend to put up a lot of money, but so far I haven't got anywhere. All are for it, but no decision is made.

Usually the competent and lucky achieve success. Here people who are strong, tenacious, and even aggressive – those who actively work with a partner – get somewhere. They don't think that it is enough to sign some contract and then sit and wait. They envelope their partner and hold him by different means: they ring him up all the time and actively work with him, forcing him to remember about them every day and every hour. They use the whole spectrum from love to threats. And in the end they achieve what they want. It's possible that all this doesn't seem very appealing to some. But no one insists that entrepreneurship brings only good to the world. It brings prosperity.

Prepared by
Igor Bunin
and Yelena Chekalova

Lexicon enters the market

The joint Russian-Hungarian venture Microinform is well known in Russia. It holds a leading place in our computer market. Microinform is also known abroad. For instance, it cooperates with the German firm Softtronik. Employees of the joint venture come to Berlin and assemble computers which are then sold throughout the

world. Its latest achievements are the integrated circuit Master and its variant, the text editor Lexicon.

Lexicon deserves special attention. It is one thing to write a programme and another, no less important thing is to test it. Firms spend on this process more money than on the devising of a programme itself. In our country Lexicon is the first home-made product with a text editor. However, it has already gained wide popularity. Almost every other computer is now fitted with Lexicon. It is interesting that it is becoming a multi-lingual device. Specifications for the Ukrainian variant of Lexicon are to be put out soon. The work on variants in the Kazakh, Armenian, Georgian, Lettish, German and Spanish languages is nearing its completion. The drawing up of Arabic and Hebrew variants is in the pipeline.

Microinform is gradually expanding its production. The world's largest international computer exhibition CeBIT–92, held in Hannover, showed that our Lexicon is also popular in the West. It proved a very interesting product for foreign specialists – so interesting that several sets were sold in Hannover right from the stand.

The sky over Russia will be more spacious

Despite the seeming boundlessness of Russia's air space, its traffic capacity is at its limit. Roughly 12 million flights a year is the level which can be handled by our air traffic control with their present technical equipment.

In the opinion of experts of IATA, the authoriative International Air Transport Association, the number of transit trans-continental flights over the Russian territory and neighbouring states can be increased fivefold. During one and a half years of joint work several world famous air companies ATT, IBM, Hughes Aircraft and Deutsche Aerospace Plus together with our state research institute, Aeronavigation, devised a programme which helps link our space with the international one in the interests of civil aviation.

The invisible air corridor is, figuratively speaking, a road paved with dollars. The aeronavigation duties are calculated at the rate of 50 dollars for 100 km of the route.

If the profits lost due to the failure to use our air space properly is taken into account, the annual loss will amount to half a billion dollars. The programme for the modernization of air traffic envisages that within the next four years new international routes over Russia and other member states of the Commonwealth will be added with all necessary facilities. There are also plans for modernizing the existing Trans-Siberian, Trans-Asian and Far Eastern air lines. The number of international airports in the Commonwealth will increase to 100.

New drugstore

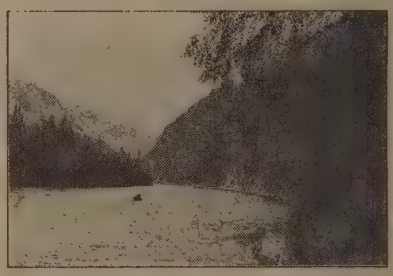
A new hard currency drugstore opened in Moscow on the premises of Municipal Outpatient Clinic No. 6. This clinic has been providing medical services to foreigners for the last 35 years. The drugstore will service any customers with hard currency, not just the clinic's own patients.

The drugstore is a joint venture between the US firm Foreign Trade, the clinic itself, a joint-stock company owned by the Moscow government, and a number of the city's largest hotels.

According to promises by the clinic's Chief Surgeon V. Mazurov the drugstore will charge the lowest prices in Moscow. The medicines for sale will be acquired in large consignments and re-packaged into smaller measures. Medicines will be bought not only in the US and Western Europe, but also in East European countries. Such countries used to supply medicines to the USSR, but are now prepared to sell them for hard currency only. The price of these products will, of course, be several times lower than that of West European and American medicines.

Yenisei opened to the whole world

The large Siberian river of Yenisei, out of bounds to foreigners for many years, is opened to tourists this summer. Several hundred foreign holiday travellers will make a journey down the river from the



city of Krasnoyarsk to the island of Dikson. An agreement to this effect has been signed in Oslo by the Krasnoyarsk-based travel agency Alex-Tour and a number of Norwegian and Canadian firms. The Yenisei River Shipping Company provides its best cruise ship for the tourists, the Austrian-made *Anton Chekhov*, which is expected to make eight voyages over this year's season.

Americans to mine gold in Russia

The US company Greinberg Resources has proposed to the Russian government its cooperation in gold mining.

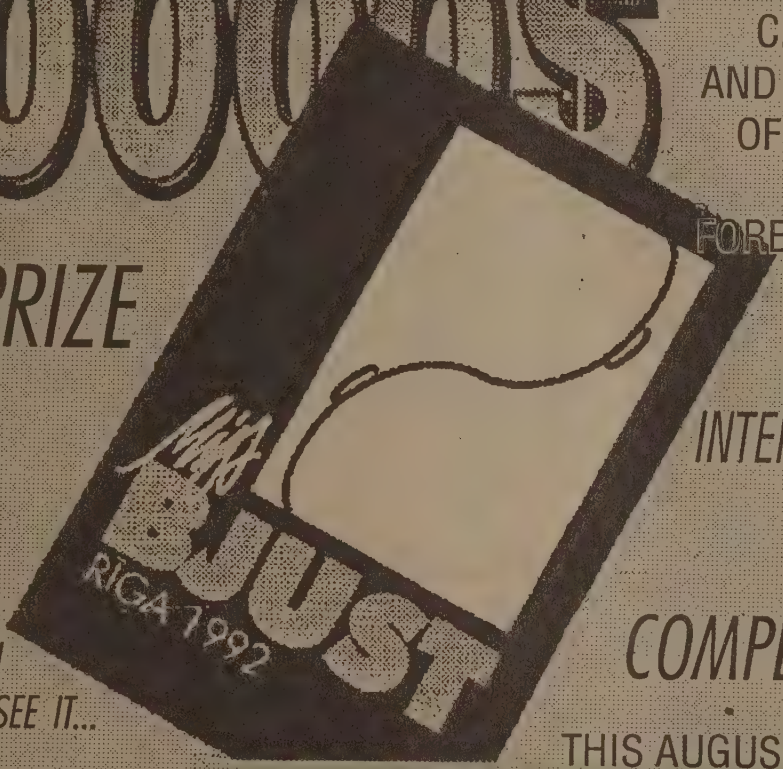
The company is prepared to participate in developing the Khakandzinskoe, Urefskoe and Tas-Urakh deposits in the Khabarovsk Region, as well as the Kubaka, Evenkoe, Tummanoer, Maiskoye and Dvoinoe deposits in the Magadan Region. Experts from Greinberg Resources estimate that some 517 million dollar investments would be necessary to implement these projects.

The company's executives have asked the Russian President to examine their proposals, pointing out that the local authorities in Magadan and Khabarovsk, as well as the firm itself, are prepared to get down to business immediately.

The firm Greinberg Resources is a subsidiary of the US oil company Greinberg Petroleum, which specializes in the exploration and development of oil and gas fields. Greinberg Petroleum is currently engaged in preparatory work in various oil and gas fields in the CIS.

1000$

THE PRIZE FUND



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From the Europe of the past to the Eurasia of the future

Asian accent to the all-European Conference

Inclusive of the newcomers from the disintegrated USSR and Yugoslavia, the Helsinki-2 Conference totalled 52 participants provided we also number among them the placecard on the empty desk allotted to Yugoslavia, currently sentenced to a "100-day isolation."

Note that the newcomers are not that recognizable. Thus Rakhmon Nabiev scared bodyguards, when gesturing from his black Mercedes: however not a single photojournalist clicked his camera. "Freedom of the press and information for us is something absolutely new," Tajikistan's unrecognized President told the gathering, asking CSCE to help him implement earlier unprecedented rights for his compatriots. His Uzbek neighbour, Islam Karimov, underlining the dangers of fundamentalism and fanaticism, spoke of the wise men of the ancient Orient. He cited the events in Tajikistan to illustrate the afore-mentioned dangers, and quoted the Uzbeks, Avicenna and Ulug-Beg, as examples of Oriental wisdom.

Azerbaijanian President Abulfaz Elchibei, who looks so much like the late Ethiopian emperor, issued assurances that his policies were oriented on the human being and that the revolution in Baku had been the major highlight in the former USSR. Armenia's Vice-President Gagik Arutyunian denounced the slogan "No Karabakhites, no Karabakh problem" and invoked memories of the "empire of evil."

The jury panel, whose foreman was Helsinki-1 veteran, Turkish President Suleiman Demirel, nodded and rated the newcomers to the European universities.

For the first time the Conference has apart from well-intentioned principles a certain leverage to proceed with its righteous cause. A system of executive bodies such as a Foreign Ministers' Council, a Committee of Senior Officials, a "troika" consisting of the former, current and future chairmen, as well as the office of a High Commissioner for Ethnic Minorities has been set up to take action against all transgressions of tranquility by means of EC, NATO, and Western European Union resources to uphold peace. The CIS though has only been allowed to back such efforts, for which even so "we had to work hard," as a ranking Russian representative put it.

Many wish to join CSCE. Whether Japan invited as a guest, the strong NATO, or the weak CIS, they not only want to cooperate in peace-keeping efforts, but also to integrate into the spreading Eurasian structures.

This enormous slice of the Earth, though having shaken off the past, has still to enter the future. As we see it, the process will be initiated by creating a federation of nations based on EC, in short a united Europe, and subsequently a confederation of nations as a common Eurasia, which though based on European values will not be part of EC. CSCE's paramount objective is to detect and remove in advance all causes of tension and quash cockpits of conflict to thereby enable the extensive dimension of security for some half hundred states and some two hundred nationalities go from strength to strength. The said job though is not for the interminable sessions so customary over the past 17 years, but for the narrow circle of ministers and experts from the currently emergent CSCE leadership.

What this will imply will be clarified this coming December when in Stockholm the Council of Ministers endorses the technical details and the mantle of chairman descends upon Sweden provided the present chairman, to wit Czecho-Slovakia, does not break up before. In Helsinki WEU and NATO met to see how force be employed against the Serbians. It has also been decided to dispatch some 100 CSCE observers under a Finnish colonel to Nagorny Karabakh. Finally, Russia and Ukraine plan to use a CIS peace-keeping force in the Dniester area, to which they hope to attach experienced Western peace makers. To cut a long story short things are humming even though scepticism is loudly voiced.

One must necessarily agree with Albanian President Sali Berisha that "the Helsinki virus is lethal for dictatorships." This poor country, which joined CSCE so late, illustrates how right Lech Walesa was when he said: "Political freedom does not necessarily entail speedy economic success." The Polish leader is convinced that Western slighting of the difficulties facing the new democracies in the East may spike unity in the CSCE process. Though as is said the well fed never understand the hungry, it would be worth while heeding Dutch Premier Rubolphus Lubbers whose people have it much better than the Poles, let alone us. He warns: "Smug complacency in the West and authoritarian centralism in the East are almost as much of a threat to the new Europe's stability as are nationalism and jingoism."

Helsinki-2 has held out major prospects for confuting pessimistic forecasts. In the event of success, Russia's expenses – as the USSR's heir it must contribute as much as the USA and foot 9 percent of the CSCE budget – will be compensated over and above. The present conference alone cost 30 million Finnish marks, while peace-keeping expenses will be appallingly great. Ukrainian diplomats, whose country must pay 1.75 percent into the aforesaid budget, are already compelled to type Leonid Kravchuk's speech in the press room, as they have neither typist nor typewriter. "We had to ask the Russians to type a clean copy for us," one said.

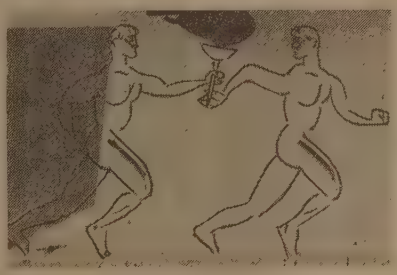
Plans for Euro-Asian cooperation may fall through for lack of money. Though once in a blue moon resources may be found for a black Mercedes for the President, where is the money to come from for the frequent trips of experts and other expenses? "We fear we will be relegated to Helsinki's margin," deplores hard-bitten Eduard Shevardnadze, who has shouldered Georgia's grievous legacy. As the "rich" are against making a discount budgetary contributions for the "poor," one can hardly hope that those "in the margin" will get anything in the way of material and technical assistance from CSCE's heavily burdened treasury. It would be more realistic for them to contemplate joint representations abroad, by copying such well-to-do Europeans as Germany and the U.K. who in Helsinki agreed to inaugurate a joint embassy in Alma-Ata.

Alexander Polyukhov

HELSINKI

A shot glass of Smirnoff for Olympic gold

Today our Olympic entrants have everything: the money, the shorts, the flags and the anthems. But will they break any records?



In the view of most sports commentators the Albertville Winter Olympic Games spelled the end of the CIS team. True, the Russian Olympic Committee (ROC) did not think so. Its Vice-President Alexander Kozlovsky observed that, "nine golds for the country as it is today represents a fantastic achievement." However, he added: "We could have won as many medals with a far smaller team, inasmuch as 60 would have been quite enough."

Going to Spain now are 498 athletes. Although the medal quota that the CPSU Central Committee okayed in those "good old days" no longer exists, still ROC is traditionally figuring how many of golds, silvers, and bronzes may be won. Vitaly Smirnov, the former USSR Minister of Sport and today ROC President, believes: "We can put up a better performance in the summer than in the winter games."

A united team is coming again, possibly for the last time as the former Soviet republics dream of independence in the sphere of sports as well. It was particularly hard to coax athletes of the Ukraine and Georgia to come, as they believe themselves good enough to perform separately.

There were also difficulties of another order. Thus though Turkmen athletes never entered the Olympic Games before, as the team is a united one, the minimal quota of representation had to be ensured for countries who have had not much of a showing in sports thus far.

Though a united team, the athletes of each independent state will carry their own flag and perform to their own anthem: true in team sports, they will display their prowess under the white Olympic flag.

As for the three Baltic states, they are completely separate. The Spanish weekly *Cambio 16* called Estonian sportsmen "the most Olympic" as they captured a total of 21 medals in five pre-war Olympic Games.

Note that the rapid increase in the number of national Olympic committees had given the organizers a headache as they had initially thought there would be only 160 of them. However by now they total 173: hence the shortage of places runs into several thousands.

ROC has managed to settle the financial aspect relatively well. Indeed, though the fortnight in Barcelona will cast 3 million dollars, happily this money is not from the state budget but is earned by ROC at short order. Without delving into commercial secrets, Alexander Kozlovsky said: "The Western-pattern economic programme helped ROC to keep afloat and earn the money."

Also there are now more sponsors than there were for the Albertville Games. At the Barcelona-92 gala presentation reporters were told that the US-based Smirnoff company had offered financial backing. At the affair its spokesmen lifted an imaginary shot glass of Smirnoff vodka to future Olympic gold. In its day Smirnoff had left Russia; however it is now returning visualizing Russia as a profitable market. True, Smirnoff is more of a patron than anything else, as at Olympic Games advertisement of alcohol and tobacco is forbidden. Incidentally, shortly Olympic stadiums might ban advertisement of other "health harming" items such as ice-cream and hamburgers.

The Serbian Goma firm, the chief supplier of dress uniforms, garbed Russian Olympic sportsmen in a combination of beige, lilac and green at the Winter Games and planned the same with respect to CIS and Georgian athletes at the Summer Games. However, as sanctions against Yugoslavia barred direct shipment the said garb had to travel all around Europe before reaching Russia – much like Lenin's *Iskra* newspaper in its day.

The major sponsor Adidas, with whom ROC has firm long-standing ties, will, despite the constant changing ownership, not stop furnishing a steady supply of sports shoes and shorts.

To sum up, we may say that today our Olympic athletes have everything they need in the way of shorts and singlets, besides a host of anthems and national flags. Will they break any records though?

Lyudmila Kostyunina

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

The Communist Party of the USA with a membership of less than 3,000 is in crisis. Many young members are aware of this fact, and call for a radical reorganization of the party. However, all their arguments are dismissed by **Gus Hall,** 81, National Chairman of the CPUSA for many years. He refers to the former President of the USSR and the current President of Russia as a "demolition team" and to Yakovlev and Shevardnadze as "pro-capitalist, right-wing politicians."

Speaking about three citizens of the former USSR who applied for membership in the CPUSA, Gus Hall declared proudly: "This shows that we are the only remaining Marxist-Leninist party." The National Chairman did not see the motivation for such application as an attempt to emigrate from Russia.

The leader of the American Communists comes under fire even from his own party. A champion of the American workers lives comfortably on the funds received earlier from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Gus Hall lives in a duplex in one of the richest districts of New York. At home he has a sauna, an underground garage, and a collection of works of art which were gifts from fraternal parties. Hall flies only first class, stays at the most luxurious hotels and changes his car every two years. His car is fitted with satellite communication. On Long Island Cus Hall has an estate and a motor boat.

* * *

Boris Bagaryatsky, 49, regards his energetic publishing and cultural activity of the late period as the expiation of his sins. At one time he helped Sergei Kurginyan stand on his own feet and then became executive director of his Experimental-Creative Centre. He broke off relations with Kurginyan after the latter's Theatre on the Boards had become a breeding-ground of neo-communist and ultra-patriotic ideas, while the projects of reviving communism conceived there became attractive for top officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

Bagaryatsky paid dearly for rupture of relations with Kurginyan. He had a heart attack on learning that after April 1989 Kurginyan secretly published and distributed leaflets with the slogan, "Demand truth about Tbilisi." The leaflets said that reports on the use of entrenching shovels and chemical gases during the dispersal of the demonstration in Tbilisi were nontrue.

Bagaryatsky "died" as a theatre critic and journalist. But an energetic manager and reputable publisher was "born" under this name. He founded a publishing house, ABC-Press, with academician Stanislav Shatalin as chairman of its council. The first book brought out by it was *Prosperity through Competition* written by former West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, the father of the "German economic miracle."

Bagarytsky concluded that only by shaping a new economic consciousness among his compatriots could he make irreversible and effective the ideas which he popularized, and for which he was exiled in the 1970s 6,000 km away from Moscow.

This desire prompted the idea of translating into Russian the economic comic strips put out by the Federal Reserve Bank of the Un-

Good luck, Youth of the Planet

While fighting raged in the Dniester republic a school dance company from Kishinev gave a breathtaking performance at the house of culture of the Likhachev Automobile Works in Moscow. Together with their peers from member states of the Commonwealth and Estonia, Moldavian boys and girls took part in an international festival of youth song and dance companies. Reet Lainemaa, assistant principal of school No. 17 in Tallinn, said in an interview with the Morning television programme: "Our children need friendly contacts. It is fascinating for them to associate with each other, to familiarize themselves with the art of other nations. It is a vital necessity for them, and nothing should prevent such contacts." Shalumy Matayev, artistic director of the dance company "Virtuosos of Daghestan – Happy Childhood" said with emotion: "The international festival of dance and song companies, visits to places of interest in Moscow, and contacts with boys and girls from other republics left an indelible trace in the souls of children. Manashir Azizov, president of the International Association Youth of the Planet, performed a geat miracle. In the current atmosphere of ethnic conflicts he brought together about 300 schoolchildren and teachers from former Union republics and organized a wonderful festival. In our anxiety-ridden time this borders on a feat. I would like to express my gratitude to this man."

Overcoming financial difficulties and organizational hindrances, the president of the Association is steadily realizing the aims of this peacemaking and humanitarian organization – the inculcation in young people of deep respect for the language, culture, history and religion of each nation and nationality together with the promotion of friendship between the schoolchildren and teachers of various countries. Azizov said that the noble aims and tasks of the Association should be understood and backed by charitable persons, sponsors and patrons of art, that they should lend a helping hand to the youth of the planet because it is our future. These words deserve our full support.

If the business world gave material support to Youth of the Planet it would be able to build two school towns, one near Vienna and the other near Moscow, open a branch of its headquarters in the Austrian capital and publish there its monthly *Youth of the Planet* in five widely spoken languages. It would also like to organize mutual trips for schoolchildren and teachers, and carry out many additional plans. Those who wish to help the Youth of the Planet can get in contact with its Association by tel. 115-52-15.

ited States. "The comic strips can clearly explain to either a junior schoolboy or a senior research associate the financial mechanisms that govern a free market economy," Boris says.

His publishing house ABC-Press has put out Napoleon Hill's *Think and Grow Rich*, which went through over 50 printings in the West. This bestseller tells readers how to work out economic thinking.

Boris Bagarytsky is an ambitious man. He wants to remain in the memory of grateful Russians as the famous Russian publisher Sytin of the early 20th century by making the possibility of civilized education accessible to everyone.

* * *

The centenary of the birth of Marina Tsvetayeva, the famous Russian poet, is to be observed in autumn this year. By the anniversary a house-museum will be opened on the cosy Borisoglebsky lane in the centre of Moscow. It will happen thanks to **Nadezhda Katayeva-Lytkina,** who for many years fought for the preservation of the two-storey house in which her favourite poet lived.

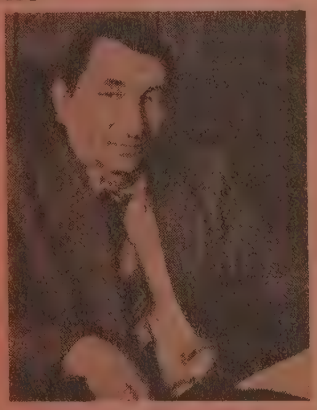
Nadezhda was 22 when the war broke out. She was a fifth-year student of the First Medical Institute in Moscow. The graduation took place earlier than usual because the city needed doctors. Nadezhda worked as a surgeon in a military hospital. Once, after working for three days and nights running, Nadezhda lost consciousness. When she came to herself she saw beside her bed Ada Yakovleva, an actress of the Moscow Art Theatre, who came to encourage the patient. Lately the actress presented Nadezhda with a small volume of Tsvetayeva's verses.

After the Battle of Moscow Nadezhda was asked what reward she would like to receive. Nadezhda, who came from Siberia, said: "I would like to stay in Moscow." She received a flat on the lane on the former Povarskaya Street in which Marina Tsvetayeva lived.

After the war the young doctor began to collect material about the people of the "magic" house in which Tsvetayeva spent eight of her most creative years and in which famous theatre actors, writers and musicians gathered. Katayeva-Lytkina defended a thesis on restorative surgery and was awarded the degree of Candidate of Medical Science. Later, she graduated from the department of art history and theory of Moscow University. Nadezhda began to work as an art critic at exhibitions and to write articles. Many of them were devoted to Tsvetayeva.

The city authorities decided to tear down the ramshackle old house. But Nadezhda and her son lived for seven years in the deserted house not allowing the authorities to destroy it. She invited students, actors and writers. For the sake of saving the house it was leased out to various organizations, including the Writers' Union. On the initiative of Academician Likhachev the former Soviet Cultural Fund allocated money for the restoration of the house. For nearly two years now Nadezhda has been the official curator of Tsvetayeva's memorial flat.

To mutual benefit



Those who still hold the view that Russia is a technologically backward country would be surprised by the following fact. American experts have recently selected more than three thousand Russian technologies for use in American industry. Among the enterprises that achieved the greatest success in advanced technologies is Moscow-based research and production association NITAVTOPROM, operating within the Commonwealth's motor industry.

Its director general **Stanislav Podsoblyaev** is a talanted and experienced engineer, businessman and scientist. Many impressive achievements of the association are connected with his name. Stanislav Podsoblyaev graduated from Moscow Machine-Tool and Instruments Institute. His first job was that of design engineer at NITAVTOPROM, where he subsequently held a number of executive positions before being appointed director general in 1986. He is a member of Russia's Engineering Academy. Some years ago Stanislav Podsoblyaev was also elected to the International Engineering Academy based in France.

"Our association," says its head, "has for almost half a century engaged in research and development! Now it comprises three R&D institutes and five experimental plants along with several dozen laboratories.

"The range of the association's work is very wide. It encompasses practically all sectors of the motor industry. A few products of NITAVTOPROM are really worth the attention of foreign experts. In fact they are very interested in the work of the association. Some of its patents already have been registered in the US, Germany, France, Japan, Sweden and Great Britain.

"We have sold licences for advanced equipments and high technologies to Bulgaria, Poland, Germany, Sweden, Austria and Yugoslavia. In addition we created free joint ventures..."

The author's right to be treated decently

VAAP is dead! Long live RAIP?

Protection of copyright both in the former Soviet Union and in the CIS leaves much to be desired. It seems that Russia has reached the crest of the wave of lawlessness, "pirate" copying and the arbitrary use of artistic and literary production. Today many publishers do not care much about concluding agreements with copyright holders; theatres (including those in Moscow and St. Petersburg) disregard the wishes of playwrights.

We need a tribunal

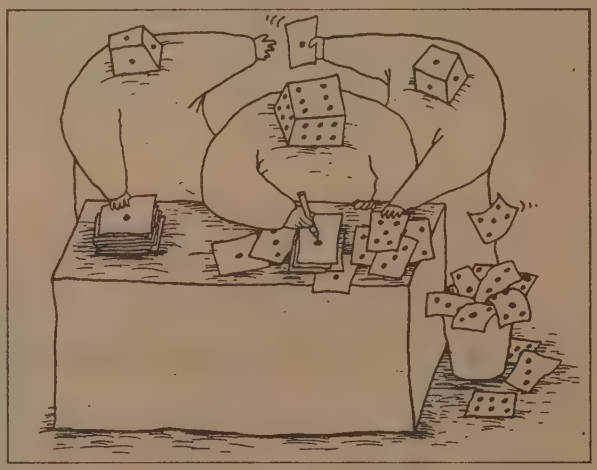
In Russia the rates of royalties are trailing behind the spiralling prices. In other countries, such as Spain, they are annually revised against inflation. What is more, the authors there get a share of all incomes connected with the use of their works including advertisement and bar sales: In Japan royalties for the music played in restaurants, cafés and bars comprise the prices for drinking served in them. This is how inflation is offset in that country.

The law in many countries envisage harsh financial and administrative sanctions against illegal use of artistic and literary works. Some countries have instituted special courts of justice and tribunals to protect copyright holders. In our country there are no penal sanctions to speak of.

Judge for yourself – people caught without a valid ticket in public transport are fined on spot for a sum fifty times bigger than the ticket price. Offenders of the Russian copyright legislation when brought to court escape with paying the author a sum that is no larger than the royalties envisaged by the law and that is diminishing with every day of inflation, and legal costs. Harsh treatment for moral and material damage indeed!

In the CIS there is no law on royalties for using artistic creations by radio and TV. Copyright is stubbornly ignored by owners of recording studios and show business entrepreneurs; there is a veritable flood of complaints about illegal video recording.

The roots of the situation are obvious – imperfect legislation and the consequent impotence of authors and their representatives. VAAP was denied access to financial documents of the users of artistic and literary works. The tax assessment bodies and the local executive organs whose task was to register organisations and individuals that used literary and artistic works refused to share their information with VAAP. State and commercial banks stopped recovering arrears on royalties. In Japan, for example, JASRAC, an agency that protects the rights of authors, has an agreement with the banks to recover the necessary amounts from those users' accounts, that failed to pay royalties.



Drawing by Vyacheslav Shilov

Changes that changed nothing

In the past the USSR Copyright Agency was mainly concerned with export and import of copyright and totally disregarded the sphere of collective administration of the rights of authors, something that every organisation of this kind is expected to do. In vain did the authors pronounce angry speeches and foreign partners show their dissatisfaction with the considerable disbalance in mutual settlements with VAAP.

In France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Italy they were on the range annulling the concluded agreements.

Active actions on their part were restrained by *perestroika* and numerous promises to change our copyright laws. There was even talk of ratifying the Paris 1971 Universal Copyright Convention and of signing, later, the Bern Convention of September 9, 1886. (In fact practically all civilized countries of the world are members of this oldest International Convention on the Protection of Literacy and Artistic Works.) Nothing happened – the most radical step proved to be a change of the name from VAAP to GAASP of the USSR. What is more, the royalties of Soviet authors in hard currency were frozen in the USSR Foreign Economic Bank.

The draft Law on Copyright and Related Rights bogged down in the Russian Parliament's numerous commissions and committees; authors themselves seem to have caught passivity from VAAP while the unions of creative workers are still steeped in political intrigues and petty kitchen-style quarrels.

Jubilation was not universal

The press tries to convince us that the jubilation over the death of VAAP–GAASP was universal. The Russian President instituted the Russian Agency for Intellectual Property (RAIP) in their place. Russia was the last of the former Soviet republics to get a copyright agency of its own.

Abroad the reception was cooler: the International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers (CISAC) and its

General Secretary Jean-Alexis Ziegler were cautious in their response. As a rule similar agencies abroad are set up, financed and controlled by authors rather than the state.

There are reasons for a state-governed agency in this country. Despite a myth about its high social status, VAAP was a poor beggar unable to survive on commission discussed and denounced many times. For the time being Russian authors, unlike their colleagues abroad, are unable to set up and support a highly skilled staff even if it is less numerous and worse paid than in France, Germany, Britain or Spain. It has never been cheap to protect copyright even if those doing it are underpaid (as was the case with VAAP). The Finance Ministry suggests that GAASP should do the same. Protection of copyright needs a fairly developed infrastructure, equipment and trained specialists. In short, anybody wishing to protect copyright and institute collective administration of it should invest considerable amounts. Obviously, the agency needs support from the President and the government to shoulder expenses and to keep "piratical" copying a bay.

Russia confirmed its adherence to the international agreements signed by the former Soviet Union including the commitments stemming from the Universal Copyright Convention adopted in 1952 that the Soviet Union signed in 1973.

The Baltic countries did not accept these obligations – they are ready to sign the Berne Convention and be independent in their relationships with CISAC and copyright agencies abroad. Naturally enough Russia willingly accepts this though some problems of its bilateral relations with its Baltic neighbours persist.

The greater part of the copyright agencies of the CIS countries (they are mainly state, rather than public, organizations) have not decided so far which principles to adhere to.

At the meeting of the CISAC Executive Bureau and Administrative Council held last May in Stockholm copyright societies voiced their concern over the situation in the CIS. They listed their claims: the flow of royalties to the authors abroad stopped; there was little harmony between the copyright agencies in the CIS and the Baltic states; there was no adequate copyright legislation in the independent states on the territory of the former USSR. The decision was to hold back royalties to Russian authors and authors from other CIS members; heads of copyright agencies recommended the authors' organizations outside CISAC to delegate some of their rights to RAIP (at least for some time) to bridge the gap in mutual financial settlements in respect of royalties. Reinhold Kreile, GEMA General Secretary (Germany), stated: "What we want is the single copyright agency for the CIS members." Obviously, there are people abroad who would rather prefer the CIS to remain a single cultural entity.

There is no hope for VAAP resurrection – hardly anyone in Russia would rejoice at this prospect. The problem is: will RAIP manage to live and let live.

Vyacheslav Smirnov

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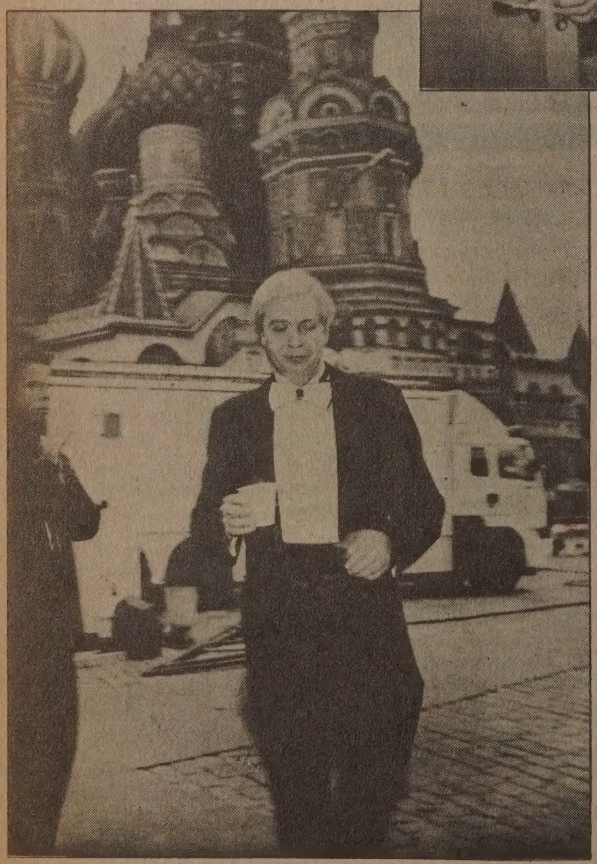
Never mind what Trotsky said

Red Square bans revolution, parades and the changing of the guard

The Red Square Invites festival evoked "feast in times of plague" reproaches of the kind Leo Trotsky so shatteringly showered when visiting playhouses in 1917 yet he anathematized the well-garbed public now from "the gods" now from the boxes shouting: "While the people shed their blood out in the streets, you callous bourgeois hark to the platitudes spit at you by piddling mediocre actors!" Fortunately life goes on and with it the wish for gala and carnival.

The publicity was astounding. There were spectacularly designed booklets, video clips with world stars on television and respectable presentations in New York, London and Moscow with table laden stand-up banquets. Press releases announced that this would be not only a top cultural highlight for this country, but even a world event parallelling the Olympic Games in Spain and the Columbus Days in the USA. It was announced that its patron would be Russia's President and that among the trustees would be such notables as Margaret Thatcher and Jacqueline Kennedy, that invited, as distinguished guests were the heads-of-state of the "magnificent Seven," with only the Canadian Prime Minister absent, and Royal personalities, who luckily enough did not turn up.

José Carreras's muse? Maris Liepa's ballerina daughter



During the break conductor Vladimir Sotnikov warms up with coffee

The daring initiator of this unprecedented show was a hitherto virtually unknown despite architectural prowess and such literary efforts, as two novels, five plays and four film scripts, and his own Moscow Hammer Centre-based Inter-theatre. Omari Sokhadze hastened to don Messianic garb and in a fashion belying good taste announced that he had come to initiate Russia's cultural renaissance and return to Red Square its pristine glory.

However Sokhadze who sought a niche in civilization's pantheon had reckoned without implying good weather. At a temperature of but 15°C and with ticket ranging between 400 and 1,000 rubles to some night shows, in attendance were at best some 6,000 in place of the expected 80,000 spectators. This was so depressing that from time to time the guards from the Ninth Directorate of the former KGB let happy unticketed spectators through, which was rather a setback for all who had paid a pretty round sum for their tickets. How Omari Sokhadze will repay the Russian government the borrowed 310 million rubles with interest is definitely more than the famous sixty-four dollar question.

True, the picture may be viewed differently. Shortly before the said festival Sokhadze reorganized his Inter-theatre into a private agency to engage in impressive international show business. Hence the festival had evidently been devised to serve as a means of building up a reputation, which every businessman prizes more than money.

Incidentally, despite the cold, which spells so appalling an ordeal for every voice, José Carreras gave a magnificent performance as too did Evgeny Nesterenko, Maiya Plisetskaya, Vasiliev and the Liepa brother and sister.

In short, Trotsky was put to shame.

Larisa Dolgacheva

Photos by Alexei Kudenko

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